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7 June 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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FORMER MINISTER'S COASTAL DEFENSE PROPOSAL REJECTED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 May 83 p 3

[Article by Sulo Gradeci: "Devoted and Steadfast Son of the Party"]

[Excerpts] Commander Tekiu. Anyone who knew the Hero of the People Teki Kolaneci knows him as a devoted communist, faithful to the party line, a commander and commissar who was affable in his dealings with his comrades and merciless toward the enemy, a fearless and steadfast fighter in his early years, who remained so until his final hours.

As early as 1935 he participated in the anti-Zog movement in Fier and was arrested and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Later on, when the doors of the prison were knocked down he went into battle once again. He became a member of the Albanian Communist Party in 1942 and he remained a faithful son of the party and an ardent defender of its line to the very end. At the head of the 15th Attack Brigade, after bloody battles, he was among the victors in a free Albania. The party would be giving him important tasks and positions in the leadership of the People's Army, in the continuing process of modernizing and strengthening the defense forces of the country. Just as in combat, Teki Kolaneci would execute his new assignment, in this new phase, as a devoted son of the party.

The party and the people would be facing great difficulties after liberation. Dangerous enemies, internal and foreign, visible and invisible, would try, in every way, to sabotage and destroy the victories achieved. Teki Kolaneci, like all devoted communists, would overcome these situations and difficulties, not putting them aside or treating them in a superficial manner. On the contrary, he would emphasize, above all, the party line, the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He would show that he was one of the most devoted and most faithful cadres of the army and of our internal affairs organs. Arrogance and egoism, flattery and pursuit of praise and personal gains were foreign to him.

Unassuming and friendly in relations with his comrades, his subordinates and his superiors, he would not hesitate to openly attack anyone who would violate the party line. The former minister of defense, the enemy of the people and the party Beqir Balluku called him in one day for a "free exchange of opinions" and suggested that a "new idea" regarding coastal defense "might be worked on"

for presentation to higher officials. Under the guise of "protection from the first strike by the enemy" the enemy B. Balluku "suggested" that our forces retreat to the interior. When Teki Kolaneci objected to this, the enemy tried to attack his self-esteem. "Naturally," he said, "this would be a hardship for your women since they will not be living in the city anymore." "As for our women," Teki Kolaneci replied, "they will be beside us in the trenches. But I do not agree with your idea because if we leave a bit of land on which the enemy can put his foot then we cannot cast him into the sea. This is not in accordance with the party line."

When the party leadership became aware of this matter, Comrade Enver said:

"Tell Teki Kolaneci to keep the cannons at Shkempi i Kavajes."

Later the party would learn that this kind of "suggestion" by B. Balluku was not a "chance remark" and not the "only such suggestion". On the contrary it was a product of those viewpoints which would serve as a basis for the "theory of crawling back", a defeatist theory which is deeply hostile and putschist.

This is only one episode from the life and activity of this devoted son of the party, one of the highest cadres of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who, steadfast to the end, consolidated all factors to strengthen defense, to turn our borders into walls which would be impenetrable for any enemy. He died suddenly in May of 1963. His death brought a great loss but in his life as a fighter, militant, communist and cadre there are many lessons, there is experience, there is his entire work which turn this loss into a source of inspiration.

CSO: 2100/49

BULGARIA

MEDIA PRESENTATION OF KARAMANLIS SPEECH IN BULGARIA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Dear Mr President:

Allow me to assure you of my particular joy at being once again in your beautiful country. Thank you for granting me this opportunity with your kind invitation.

Our current meeting, Mr President, is our eighth over the past 9 years. It solemnly and effectively confirms the firm friendship which binds our peoples and the two of us personally. Nor could I fail to stress, dear friend, your decisive contribution to the development of this friendship.

Our regular encounters, Mr President, are milestones in the development of relations between our countries, for they have enabled us, on the one hand, to broaden the friendship and cooperation between our peoples and, on the other, to exchange useful ideas on our regional problems and on the worrisome global problems which affect the world today.

From the very beginning, we expressed the wish to develop cooperation between our two nations in all areas, and proved our belief in the familiar principles which should imbue international life, such as the independence of all countries, noninterference in domestic affairs, peaceful resolution of international problems and the right of all nations freely to choose their way of life.

Since then, cooperation between our countries has scored great progress in all areas and has already set an example for emulation. The development of our reciprocal trade, which is truly impressive, is a distinguishing feature of this progress.

Mr President:

It was natural for such a wonderful development of Greco-Bulgarian relations to have a favorable influence on the general climate in our area and to encourage multilateral cooperation among Balkan countries. As you know, after my return in 1974 I laid the beginning of a truly multilateral foreign policy within the framework of which I included Balkanwide cooperation. Such cooperation, its static nature in recent years notwithstanding, created a new situation in the Balkan Peninsula. This area, known in the past for its

legendary instability and explosive conflicts, is now setting an example of peaceful and creative cooperation between countries with different economic and social systems. I am sorry to say that our relations with Turkey have still not adapted themselves to that climate. I am hoping, however, that time and need, which are the wisest of all advisers, will eventually lead us to an honest resolution of our differences and will allow us above all to put an end to the Cyprus tragedy, the continuing nature of which conceals dangers and faces all of us with exceptionally heavy responsibilities.

Mr President:

You expressed your concern at the current international situation. I share this concern and could even go further by saying that the confusion and irresponsibility which prevail in the world today are assuming a shape and dimensions even threatening to world peace.

This danger is not only unjustified but puzzling, for no one, no nation wants war. In any case, if we are to assess the current situation accurately, we should realistically determine the reasons which cause it and therefore seek, courageously and sincerely, the means through which we could eliminate it.

It is my long held view, Mr President, that the present crisis is caused by reciprocal mistrust and insincerity which dominate international life, East-West relations in particular.

Consequently, in order to safeguard peace we must remove the reasons which keep endangering it. We can achieve this only by developing reciprocal trust in international life. This requires to strengthen the feeling of security, which can be achieved only through a verifiable balance of forces, for no nation is prepared to disarm if it feels threatened. This would not be difficult to attain with good will and sense. For, as I have said on another occasion, the problem is not metaphysical but real and depends on control and our good will. For it is easy to assess the strength of both sides and to restore the balance, should inequality be noticed. In other words, either the stronger side should reduce its forces or the weaker side should raise them to the former's level.

Lively debates are taking place on this important yet simple question and proposals and counterproposals are being formulated daily. Despite their dramatic nature, such discussions and proposals take the shape of literary debates and are frequently conducted in the nature of propaganda.

As we know, the West is proposing the "zero" option. This, however, is rejected by the East, for it does not include British and French weapons. The East calls for a balance of forces between its own forces, on the one hand, and those of Britain and France, on the other. This, however, is being rejected by the West, such forces being under national control and, consequently, not meeting the safety requirements of the overall pact.

Finally, both sides are submitting a variety of peaceful suggestions which are not followed up, for they do not provide for firm guarantees regarding their practical application.

All of this proves that we are moving within a magic circle and confirms the fact that mutual misunderstanding is at the bottom of the problem, for it would be monstrous to believe that either side is trying to cheat the other since, as I already said, no nation wants war. All of this, however, also proves that the only guarantee for securing peace is the controlled balance of forces between the two blocs.

This, precisely, is the direction toward which all nations, East and West, should direct their efforts, as should our two countries on the national and alliance levels.

Mr President:

From the viewpoint of the contacts we have maintained so far, our present meeting is particularly important, not only because it will provide a new impetus to the cooperation between our nations but also because it is being held at a time when the international situation is uncertain and dangerous. I believe that the talks we are about to hold will enable us to assess the means by which our countries would be able to make their contribution, jointly or separately, to the solution of the great problems of our time, the strengthening of international peace above all.

It is with this belief that I toast the well-being of the friendly Bulgarian people and your own good health, Mr President, and the good health of all those present here (applause)! (BTA)

5003

CSO: 2200/83



## BULGARIA

### GREEK PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS DELIVERS DINNER SPEECH

Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Excerpt] In his speech the president of Greece, Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis, too, stressed that the present meeting is a confirmation of the strong ties of friendship which bind the two peoples. "These regular meetings of ours are milestones in the development of the relations between the two countries, because they make it possible on the one hand to expand the friendship and cooperation between our peoples and on the other to exchange useful thoughts on both the problems of our region, and on global and alarming issues which are topical today" he said.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis stressed that the great progress in the development of Bulgaro-Greek relations in all spheres of life already stands an example to be followed. Bulgaria and Greece are developing their relations of cooperation while adhering to the principles of independence, of non-interference in internal affairs, and to the principles of the peaceful solution to international problems and the right of every nation to freely choose their way of living.

"It was only natural that this magnificent development of the Greek-Bulgarian relations should have a favorable impact also on the general climate of our region and encourage the multilateral ties of cooperation of the Balkan peoples" he said. This region, with its proverbial instability and its explosive contradictions, is already setting an example for a peaceful and creative cooperation between countries with different economic and social systems.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis subscribed to the alarm as expressed by Mr Todor Zhivkov over the present international situation. "The perplexity and the irresponsibility which are taking the upper hand in the world today, assume such norms and such dimensions that they endanger even world peace. This danger is not only unjustified, but also incomprehensible, since no one, not a single nation in the world wishes war" he said.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis spoke in favor of the need of the strengthening of peace and security in the world, in favor of disarmament. He stressed that to ensure peace there could be no other guarantee but the controlled balance of forces. Dwelling again on today's meeting, he stressed its special significance, not only because it is bound to provide a fresh impetus to the links of cooperation between the people of Bulgaria and Greece, but because it is taking place at a time when the international situation is insecure and dangerous.

I believe that the talks we shall have will make it possible for us to evaluate the ways with which the two countries will be able to contribute jointly or separately to the solution of the great tasks of our time and first of all the strengthening of international peace, said Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1900 GMT on 25 April reports the dinner and adds:  
"The dinner was attended by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee on Culture; and Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services; and by the chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Greek Governmental Commission on Economic Cooperation; ministers; Dimitur Popov, Varna BCP Committee first secretary; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Varna Okrug People's Council; and other Varna Okrug officials. The officials accompanying the Greek president also attended the dinner."]

CSO: 2200/83

'NARODNA KULTURA' URGED TO BE MORE CRITICAL IN ITS REVIEWS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Prof Dr Chavdar Dobrev: "With Responsibility to the Times--Reflections on the Art Criticism of the Newspaper NARODNA KULTURA"]

[Text] The newspaper NARODNA KULTURA [National Culture] enjoys the respect of our cultured public. This publication reflects and discloses the development and problems of the country's artistic life, acquaints us with the contemporary progress of world art, informs us of the role of Bulgarian art abroad and makes us witnesses of the organizational and creative facts in the building of cultural processes.

To its credit, the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA endeavors to cover the diverse sectors of cultural contributions with an awareness of the complexity and the specific nature of culture as a unity of material and spiritual values. In its critical judgments, on the whole a class and party criterion is present for the matters it considers--their place in the social life of art is substantiated; the significance of method, style, form and means of individual genres and individual contributions is pointed out; a number of important questions of cultural policy in a developed socialist society are raised; the interpenetration of Bulgarian and Soviet culture, of Bulgarian culture and the culture of the other socialist countries is investigated. And it is a reference point, a kind of ideological focusing on "heterogeneous" subject matter in order more purposefully to pursue the newspaper's policy of the communist inculcation of the working people and youth. Obviously, the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, as well as a number of statements and formulations of principle by Comrade Todor Zhivkov since the congress, and above all his speech to the 14th Komsomol Congress, are helping the editorial staff to achieve their lofty goals, to combine theory more skillfully with praxis, and general principles with the dialectic of the lively esthetic movements in art.

It is manifestly impossible in one article to treat with identical thoroughness all the spheres of art criticism in the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA over the space of an entire year. This is due also to the writer's inability to delve to the same extent into such multifaceted fields as theater, cinema, television, the figurative arts, music, architecture. On the other hand, it is not only possible but also extremely necessary to illuminate the directions taken by--and draw general conclusions from the quests of--the newspaper as a

participant in a new culture whose task it is to work for the enrichment of the personality in our society, promote a more consistent ideological and creative development of artistic intellectuals and, through the press media, stimulate the creation of major spiritual values.

I should like to point out some of the newspaper's achievements from this perspective.

NARODNA KULTURA finds ways and forms of giving an idea of the more vivid phenomena in our art of today. This holds true not only for individual works but also for collective contributions, for example, in the area of the figurative arts. Reviews in most instances are competently written, with a lively treatment of the facts disclosed. Present most comprehensively in the pages of the newspaper is criticism of the figurative arts--painting, drawing, sculpture, decorative and plastic arts. This makes it possible to give an idea in consecutive order of individual and collective exhibitions and to discuss comparatively extensively major figures in the history of the figurative arts. The articles of Dimitur Avramov, Atanas Bozhkov and Maksimiliyan Kirov on the centenary of Maystor's birth are corroboration of our finding. Also characteristic of the newspaper's marked interest in the figurative arts are individual articles on the Sixth National Youth Exhibition, on the "Kyustendil Spring-82" and "Dimitrov Land-82" exhibitions, and the "60 Years of the USSR" retrospective exhibition.

The newspaper did much organizational and creative work in connection with giving an idea of the Theater of Nations, a great international event to which Bulgaria was host.

There was a conspicuous effort in the pages of the newspaper in 1982 to use various genres of criticism--problem articles, reviews, sketches, interviews, news items with judgmental elements, readers' comments, a critic's notebook, roundtables etc. It should be mentioned that the interview and news item were more abundantly represented in the depiction of the cinema and of musical life. The genre of the sketch was favorably done. Interesting as genre contributions was the critic's notebook in literature and television art.

Also an important factor in the life of the newspaper (with respect to problems of criticism) was its constant interest in Soviet art, Soviet sculpture. In almost every issue there were articles, interviews and informative materials acquainting us more fully with the successes of Soviet creative artists and with their civil and artistic responsibility to the party and society.

Seen against these already-won positions of the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA suggesting a correct attitude towards vital phenomena and facts of our present-day culture and art, a number of problems emerge which have yet to be more thoroughly solved for the first time--problems connected with praxis, with the new heightened requirements set for ideological processes, with the necessity of more consistent concentration on what is truly valuable, socialistically truthful and esthetically representational in the life of art.

There is still insufficient discussion in the pages of the newspaper of problems in the esthetics of socialist realism--problems of world outlook and method, of party-mindedness and class-and-party criteria as concrete reference points in the activity of both the artist and the critic himself. Such elevation of the theoretical level of discourse will also help activate the creators of artistic values in their struggle for a new art of socialist civilization. A reminder is hardly needed that the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA is not alone in treating very sporadically the questions of the new hero, of his changing self-awareness, of the role of conflicts and their specific character under conditions of socialism, of the socialist mode of life not as a ready-made prescription but precisely as an aspect of active realism inspired by the ideals of communism. All this is not general esthetic postulates, but organic aspects of artistic praxis, of creative diversity, of the climate and direction of today's art.

The news item and interviews cannot take the key place of the problem-raising article that discusses the most important questions of art in the esthetic inculcation of the people.

In music, apart from Gencho Gaytandzhiev's article, "With No Claims to Generalization" (about "New Bulgarian Music") and some other materials, there are actually no problem-raising studies. The same holds true as well for movie criticism which most frequently uses the day-to-day genre--reviews and comments about individual films that have appeared on the screen. Theater criticism does significantly better specifically from the viewpoint of a problem-raising examination of the productions although here too the presence of the weakness I am writing about is felt. It is hardly explicable why for an event like the Theater of Nations there was no leading article, drawing general conclusions, to give our Bulgarian evaluation of the great cultural forum.

When I go back to the reviews published in the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA as well as in other publications and look at them with a detached view, a spirit of self-criticism is aroused in me: the judgments are "competent" and the reviews are constructed at a serious professional level, but we are confronted with an invisible leveling of artistic values. In some context or other, works are always regarded as achievements; pretty words about their qualities are always found, and a body is left with the impression (if one retraces, as I did, a one-year file of the newspaper) that Bulgarian art moves along a pathway of flowers, that it begets only "lion's cubs," that it is at some opening of a vista of masterpieces. In this way, however, criticism self-destructs; it loses its fundamental meaningful function of looking soberly at facts and distinguishing the great from the trivial, the ideologically full-valued from the creatively unsatisfactory. It is a matter of artistic taste and exacting standards, of moral stability. It is a matter of vindicating one's own opinion, of winnowing "the wheat from the chaff."

The Bulgarian figurative arts have made great achievements in recent decades; they are the capital of our national culture. But is it normal that for exhibitions in which many Bulgarian artists participate the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA should point out only the successes but not analyze the problems raised both by experience and by the very development of individual genres in art?

The problems in Bulgarian cinema hardly have to do solely with the individual shortcomings of director and actor. Film art with its vast potentialities for encompassing life and influencing the public has an obligation to get more profoundly into contemporary life and problems and to investigate from the viewpoint of high party criteria and spiritual maturity the realities now taking form, with their heroes, conflicts and resolutions, in the direction of a new social and moral awareness. Unfortunately, movie criticism in the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA is too fragmentary, sinks often to the level of an advertisement, is satisfied to raise its questions sporadically in connection with a particular film, and comparatively rarely seeks out and discovers general constructive principles, trends and correlations between art and life.

Theater criticism in the pages of the newspaper fails to make sufficient use of its opportunities to draw general conclusions about the new quests of Bulgarian dramaturgy--with its favorable and unfavorable trends, and fails to disclose in plain talk how our Bulgarian drama has been enriched in recent years, but also in what sectors it does not vindicate itself as a socioartistic reality and does not succeed, qualitatively and quantitatively, in meeting the multifaceted interests of the audience. A national survey of Bulgarian drama and theater is on the way and this means that it is worth discussing once more what the state of Bulgarian dramaturgy, production and acting skill is, how questions of methods and professional qualifications are settled, what the ways of realizing a specific character are etc. From a similar perspective we are arguing for and insisting on an even more active role in the life of socialist art.

We might also cite as an example the representation of musical life in the newspaper. There is no explaining why the main stories are limited to news items, dispatches and interviews. Is it not possible, to far greater purpose, for music criticism to raise for consideration problems in modern Bulgarian music--its new national character and communicative aspects; the fluctuation of genre formations within it?

Problems in architecture are covered quite cursorily although problems of national traditions and contemporaneity were raised during the year, as were the role of the architect, the creative works of individual Bulgarian architects etc.

I should like to raise also another question that is extremely important not just for the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA. In what way, by what means and with what competence and maturity is the status of television as a cultural institution raised and discussed? We underestimate the role and importance of television on a national scale. There are very few stories about it. Very often they are insipid and superficial. Not infrequently an "impressionistic" technique is employed that reflects sporadic and very random observations of the critic. There is almost no specialized criticism. We seek to compensate for this through the efforts of critics from other fields of art. NARODNA KULTURA is the newspaper that has single-mindedly concerned itself with television and radio art forms. This is a fact that should be neither overlooked nor underestimated.

Obviously, however, the newspaper still does not allot sufficient space to television as an ideological and educational factor with an audience of millions. The newspaper NARODNA KULTURA might concern itself with the pressing problems of television criticism and arrange for public discussion of this central question in order to effect an improvement that the other mass information media in this field need, too.

Problem-raising materials should be published constantly and at a high level regarding individual programs, regarding Bulgarian television's overall policy in the sphere of culture and the arts, regarding the ideological and artistic purposefulness of the repertory and the forms used by television writers, and regarding the experience of fraternal television systems.

In emphasizing the importance of a more marked disclosure of the problems of Bulgarian television, I am mindful also of a comparatively more proportional representation of the individual arts in the pages of the newspaper with emphasis on problem-raising and critical consideration of what appears and of the creative artists.

The questions I am writing about are also applicable in great measure to our other print media. They touch upon problems which Bulgarian criticism solves or is supposed to solve. But the occasion for the writing of this article permits us to see them projected against the activity of our central newspaper for problems in culture and the arts.

Thought might be given, in view of the multifaceted character and diversity of the problems with which the newspaper is concerned, to whether it is possible (provided that a specialized literary press exists, and in recent years a number of literary almanacs have been established) for the problems involved in contemporary Bulgarian literature to take up more modest space in the newspaper, in return for much more expanded critical consideration and discussion of translated literature. These problems are important too, yet are still--unjustifiably--poorly presented to the Bulgarian reader.

The successes that the newspaper NARODNA KULTURA has achieved, the prestige it has won and the stand that it takes on important questions and aspects of our cultural development give us reason to believe that the newspaper can enhance still more the part it plays in the campaign for a militant and full-fledged art of socialist realism.

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## KORCAK'S SPEECH TO CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] The foremost concern of the government has been the creation of prerequisites to satisfy the basic needs of the population and to safeguard their socialist guarantees. We have based our socioeconomic program realistically upon the need to create material resources and use them economically. With this goal in mind we have paid attention to the consequences of moving in the strategic direction of intensifying the national economy, based upon an increase in its effectiveness and on strengthening its internal and external equilibrium. Among the positive results of this endeavor has been the balancing of the state budget.

Desiring a stable development of the economy, we took the path of further lowering the rate of investment and of introducing orderly procedures into the whole sphere of investment policy. We have not yet brought everything under control, but a series of positive examples bears witness to the correctness of the course that has been taken. In the past period, enterprises controlled by the Ministry of Industry have shared to a significant degree in the successful development of the economy in the CSR. The increase in industrial production--in the CSR, it grew 3.2 percent 1981 through 1982, compared to 1980--contributed a significant share to the growth of the national revenue and to a decreasing debt in convertible currencies. We also consider it a success that this led to a decrease in material and overall outlays and to a growth of revenues.

The Ministry of Industry and members of the VHJ [economic production units] will have to devote greater attention to the further lowering of demand for imports--of both raw materials and machinery and equipment. We are not capable of changing the structure of production and employment in the traditional sectors of light industry within a short period of time. It is possible to resolve things only gradually on the basis of realistic developmental concepts from supporting sectors. One example is the guaranteed development, through 1990, of export manufacture by a Jablonec jewelry firm, negotiated by the government.

In the chemical industry--even given its rather sluggish rate of growth--it will be a question of creating conditions favoring greater chemicalization in interconnected industrial branches. As structural changes aimed primarily at the development of high-quality chemistry proceed, we are relying upon exploiting the possibility of integrating procedures within the framework of CEMA. Still



within the present half-year, we in the government will also be considering a comprehensive program which would utilize derived raw materials--paper, glass, textiles and products from plastic substances. We realize what great reserves we still have in this area, and we want to take steps to mobilize them quickly and effectively.

The government has always been concerned with providing first-class nutrition to the people, and with increasing self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials. While moving in this strategic direction we are deliberately changing the structure of agriculture, so that the development of animal production should correspond to the potential of crop production and not lead to high imports of fodder and grain.

Despite these significant interventions into habitual practices, a rather positive development did occur in this area. In comparison to the averages of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the gross agricultural production of the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan is higher by 2.8 percent, out of which the increase for crop production amounts to 3.2 percent. Last year's grain harvest was the third best in the history of Czech agriculture.

The important task of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food is attention to the upgrading of natural resources and the methods used by agricultural enterprises. The results produced by the top agricultural organizations show that even with lowered expenditures it is possible to obtain greater yields per hectare and better utilization of farm animals.

We are devoting systematic attention to standards in the domestic market. We have been successful for the most part in satisfying demand in basic kinds of foodstuffs. The assortment and quality of industrial products, especially in the machine tool industries, can legitimately be criticized. Concerning the cooperation between production and trade, however, we still have many reservations and a number of problems. The building industry was one of the sectors which had the most problems in fulfilling the plan. Last year the basic goals of building production were surpassed, which must be taken into account. All the same, problems in the fulfillment of the plan of housing construction persist, especially in its larger aspects; we find deficiencies in both area and project preparation and in guaranteeing the availability of technological supplies.

The purpose of all our work is the creation of conditions for satisfying the growing needs of society, for a materially, culturally and spiritually rich life for the people. The consistent implementation of unity in economic and social policy definitely requires the enforcement of socialist principles of remuneration, so that only the genuine fruits of labor should determine the standard of living of those who work. The intensification of the economy requires the all-round support of those who want and know how to work well, who do not fear responsibility and healthy risks, who are not content with what has been attained and seek ways of adopting more challenging requirements. The introduction of an orderly method of remuneration is in the interest of the whole society, of all honest people. This sort of approach to the tasks of economic policy was confirmed by the joint action of the government of the CSR and the Czech Trade Union Council when guaranteeing implementation of the targets of the 1983 plan.

During the first 2 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the total benefits of social security grew Kcs 4.6 billion, that is, 9.6 percent. We believe that the goal of increasing the number of openings within social welfare facilities by 6,000 will be fulfilled. We are also concentrating our attention on the removal of the causes for an unfavorable development in the birthrate.

In the period after the 16th CPCZ Congress, while fulfilling our program we also noted a positive development in health care. The average number of people to one doctor--already among the lowest in the world for a long time--has decreased from 309 in the year 1980 to 300. The number of regional health-care districts has been increased. Thus professional health care for women and children has been augmented.

Throughout the whole society, we are developing important health-care programs devoted to the struggle against cardiovascular and oncological diseases. Even where judged by international standards, we have attained a substantial curtailment of infectious diseases, chiefly among children. Last year we succeeded in completely wiping out measles, a disease which even as late as the sixties had made more than 60,000 children sick. We are aiming at a further improvement in on-the-job health care and we want to create conditions so that, by the beginning of the nineties, it will have been raised from the present 60 percent of all employees to 80 percent.

Of late, supplies of the most needed medicines and health-care materials have somewhat improved, but even so some shortages still persist. A meaningful solution entails modernization of the pharmaceutical industry and an upgrading of domestic raw materials.

Concerning the education of the new generation, we will rely on a long-term program concept--that of a carefully molded Czechoslovak educational system. In the last 2 years, national committees have built 677 schools with 3,000 classrooms, and more than 90 percent of children attend kindergartens. We are aware of the difficulties involved in the preparation of youth for blue-collar jobs, for even in 1984 the situation in that sector will not be ideal. We will be lacking several hundred classrooms, thousands of workrooms and beds in youth hostels, we shall also be lacking foremen and educators. Even when accepting certain provisional arrangements, we must not dispense with basic pedagogical, professional, and politicoeducational considerations.

In the realm of college and university studies, a gradual fulfillment of the principles of a new law concerning institutions of higher learning is taking effect. It is possible to note definite results in the improvement of scientific research activities and in a higher quality management of faculties and departments. In the past 2 years, over 10,000 beds were added in new dormitories, and 4,000 places in student dining halls.

The government has conferred several times on questions about planning the numbers, placing and use of qualified graduates of colleges and high schools. It can be said that we have been successful in placing almost all graduates and that in West Bohemia, North Bohemia and in some other regions there has been a shortage of specialists in some fields for many years.

In harmony with our program, we have seen to the further development of work and social activity for youth. In the interest of healthy, harmonious development for the young generation, we are striving for further advancement of physical education and sports. In directing this activity, which affects the whole of society, we are gradually carrying out a consistent, coordinated approach, based on the growing role of national committees. Several documents, devoted to the solution of a number of relevant problems, are being prepared for discussion in government; among them is the program dealing with the development of physical education and sports through 1990.

In the development of artistic creativity, in cultural educational activities and in the building of the material and technological provisions for culture we have attained many successes; however, even in these sectors we cannot be entirely content. We need still more engaged works of art, especially in the spheres of dramatic art and of art for children and youth. It is necessary to place a great emphasis on high ideological quality in all spheres of artistic creativity and cultural activity.

We are creating conditions calculated to encourage young talent, and also to raise the standard of artistic criticism and cultural journalism. It will be necessary to pursue more deliberately the reciprocal relations between theater, film and television work, to better utilize the opportunities offered by the mass communication media for dissemination of genuine cultural values. More effective control from the center will come to the fore, linked with a strengthening of the role of national committees.

The past 2 years also represent a step forward in the activities of national committees. It was necessary to overcome many obstacles, to cope with the rather limited possibilities of construction by utilizing project "Z" [a community self-improvement program], economizing with raw materials and other materials and fuels. Increased activity of the national committees, the organizations of the National Front, citizens' committees and citizens themselves can be seen from the fact that in 1981-1982 their voluntary labor created a value of Kcs 11.2 billion, and that with an outlay of only Kcs 5.1 billion.

The jurisdiction of local national committees in central communities--extended by law--will create the prerequisites for their greater viability and for better satisfaction of the needs of the population. In the interest of a differentiated broadening of the authority of municipal national committees, their categories were defined and their role increased in regard to the economic, social and cultural needs of city-dwellers.

We devoted special attention to the creation of prerequisites for the improvement of paid services, with the aim of expanding them and upgrading their quality. The greater profitability of services, an adjustment of their prices and the abolition of needless administrative restrictions will create the prerequisites for an increase of interest by national committees, individual organizations and citizens in expanding services.

The government devotes permanent care to the capital city of Prague and to the problems of the North Bohemian Region. In the past 2 years, almost Kcs 30 billion were invested in Prague and more than 12,500 apartments were built. This

year, under the plan, the newly reconstructed National Theater building will start operating. In connection with the development of Prague, it is fair to mention once again the successful construction of the subway, which is the largest piece of construction in Prague. In the years 1981-1982, builders of the subway created a value of Kcs 3.4, and furthermore these builders are among those who habitually exceed the plan and produce work that is both economical and of high quality.

The problems of the North Bohemian Region elicit much concern--this is a region of high lignite extraction, of great power-generating capacity and important chemical plants. It is not only a question of problems concerning the fulfillment of the plan, but primarily those concerning the conditions of life of the inhabitants, the safeguarding of the stability of the work force. An important role is also played by the aid of other regions in the construction of North Bohemia--of late about 30,000 people are helping there.

In this connection permit me to say a few words about the environment, a problem which concerns more than just certain specific sections of our republic. The government has conferred on several occasions on questions about the future of the forests, a sufficient quantity of clean water, and the cleanliness of the atmosphere. An analysis of the present situation shows that in some cases the conditions are not improving. It is not within our power to resolve all questions at once, but we shall gradually take measures to prevent a further worsening of the environment.

In the present period--especially after the sixth and seventh CPCZ Central Committee sessions--even we in the government are posing the question of what to change in the activities of state organs; we are seeking to determine why in many things we have still not been as successful as we would have wished. We criticize the practice of always following the same well-trodden paths along the beaten tracks of a stereotype; we cannot become reconciled to manifestations of egocentrism within the economy.

The level of management and planning has had its impact on both the good points and the weak points of economic development. The implementation of the Set of Measures for the Improvement of the System of Planned Management of the National Economy contributed to greater effectiveness of the economy, even though its tools were not utilized everywhere efficiently enough. Much effort is still necessary to have the accepted principles applied creatively and selectively, with due regard to the specific conditions of individual sectors. We shall see to it that organizations managed by us produce concrete results in the following: the experimental testing of measures designed to speed up progress in research and development; the establishment of a uniform investment fund; and an increase in the effectiveness of foreign economic relations.

One of the shortcomings of our system has been the correctly criticized top-heavy administration. During the process of its reduction, some concrete results were obtained in the area of accounting, where through simplification we attained 37 percent decrease in labor input. The government is aware that the curtailing of administration also requires changes in legal standards, methodological directives and, at the same time, in the style of working.

Considerable reductions in outlay were achieved through the program of economizing which the government adopted in January 1982. It manifested itself especially in the decrease of the administrative apparatus by roughly 8,000 people. For this year and the subsequent years of the 5-year plan a broadening of this program was approved. We cannot, of course, enforce economizing at any price, but we are seeing to it that our frugality is in harmony with the aims of the economic and social policy of the party.

The government efforts to increase the efficiency of management were also projected into the area of inspection which is aimed at the key problems of the economy. The principles of inspection were amended by the document called Principles of Inspection in the National Economy and State Administration. The organs of People's Control are now in the cities, in central communities and in important enterprises. Prerequisites have been created to strengthen the role of technical inspection in the interest of achieving higher quality products and services.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### POLITICAL STAGNATION, LACK OF REFORMS PREVAIL

#### Deterioration in Social Climate

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 30 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Peter Michielsen: "Czechoslovakia in the Year 1983: Armed Peace Endangered"]

[Text] Rotterdam, 30 April -- The trauma has never worn off. Czechoslovakia, where in 1968 a Prague spring was roughly replaced by a Prague winter, is a country of silence. The normalization there has turned into a kind of armistice between people and regime, with only one simple rule: political peace in return for a high standard of living. The stores are full, its average income is, after the GDR, the highest in Eastern Europe, people eat and drink relatively well, and a great deal of construction is taking place. And there is a great, great deal of peace.

There are idyllic words for it. In January, the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO noted with satisfaction: "Even against the background of the shocks which afflict the world, in socialist Czechoslovakia the people march, day in day out, calmly, united and with self-assurance toward the goals set by the 16th congress of the CP [Communist Party]." The same month, party chief Husak said: "I am happy to be able to say that an overwhelming majority of our people show their determination through self-sacrifice, by working day by day on the blossoming of our country."

Peace and harmony: no surprises from Prague. There are also less idyllic words for it, in a language different from the wooden one used by RUDE PRAVO and Husak: apathy, indifference toward everything that is politics, escapism, a retreat into private life. Immobilism and rigidity, both political and economic, are Czech reference words. Five days a week, the average Czechs do what the unwritten rule expects of them: they work, not too hard, and hold their tongue. On Fridays they revive; on Fridays, building materials are stolen from construction sites because on Saturdays they will work on their small country cottage, and those who don't steal rob themselves; on Fridays, the roads are packed to overflowing because the flight to the country has started.

For a moment, Charter '77 caused a loud splash in the quiet, brackish Czechoslovakian pond. Now, 6 years later, the Charter has virtually become past

tense. Underground papers are still being published; in fact, they are the only literature which deserves that name. But nearly half of the original Charter members are either dead, in jail, or have emigrated, either willingly or not. The circle is shrinking. As a matter of fact, the circle never was very big because, after the excitement of the Prague spring and the following disillusionment, most Czechs were fed up with politics and quite willing to sell their political enfranchisement for a good material existence.

## Fear

For a long time, the recipe worked. For a long time, the people marched every week peacefully, united and with self-assurance toward the free weekend. However, now the model is starting to show some cracks, and now the regime's panic fear of changes and reforms will play a role.

Normalization is threatened primarily by the economic malaise. Since 1968, the word reform has been taboo, both the word and the concept. The world changed because of the oil crises and the recession, but Prague continued as a stalwart on the road it turned to after August 1968. Blunders were made which stuck. Modernization, pragmatism and flexibility made way for ideological orthodoxy. Economists and managers who thought independently were not promoted, because independent thinking was discouraged. While it is true that aversion to contact with the West -- a mutual aversion -- resulted in a relatively low foreign debt of only \$3 billion, it also resulted in a shortage of new technology and an obsolete production apparatus. The ideologically sound but economically incompetent managers, who succeeded the damned liberal reformers in 1968, are still in place and want nothing to do with reforms: reforms remind them of Dubcek, and thus implicitly recognize their own failings. In Gustav Husak's Czechoslovakia, no manager has ever been fired for incompetence -- at most for corruption.

Investments were made, too many rather than too few -- 30,000 projects remained unfinished -- but in the wrong sectors. This led to enormous unmarketable supplies which are rusting or rotting away, and which amount to nearly the national product of a whole year. One-year plans have replaced five-year plans, and even those are not achieved.

Fifteen years of inertia and fear of anything new, of anything which could be unjustifiable ideologically speaking, 15 years of marching dogmatically on the wrong road -- will avenge itself now. Growth has declined, it has lost its elasticity. Shortages, price hikes, hidden unemployment and inflation have appeared on the scene. The precious standard of living, the only guarantee of political peace, is falling in the danger zone.

Reforms are still taboo. Prague is reaching for marginal remedies: it is raining emergency decrees; especially now that comrade Andropov is doing the same thing in Moscow, discipline is being written in capital letters. And who would be doing the reforming? The reformers of the past are either working as porters, ice cream vendors and cadaver washers or living in exile: 500,000 individuals were dismissed after 1968, 120,000 left.

## Alternatives

But with today's marginal resources, Prague will not get rid of its problems. As long as no sizable changes in personnel are implemented, there are few alternatives. Salvation will definitely not come from the West. Even though, with its alleged boycott, the West is the ideal scapegoat for Prague, the problem lies primarily in the fact that Czechoslovakia's exports are not competitive on the world market, and thus it is not surprising that the export figures are declining.

Prague can expect equally little from the East: relatively speaking, the other West European countries have even greater difficulties, and Moscow neither intends nor is it able to help Prague -- for example, with cheap energy. On the contrary. The only thing Prague may be able to expect from Moscow is perhaps encouragement of the rare pragmatists who are not getting a hearing now. It is not for nothing that for months Prague has been buzzing with rumors about personnel shifts at the top and about a declining influence of the dogmatists, the heroes of 15 years of silence.

For the time being, the slogan is waiting and muddling along. Prague draws up its nice one-year plans which are not achieved, and hopes for miracles which do not take place, while the citizens, who for 15 years have not been allowed to think with the authorities, concern themselves exclusively with good living, with car, country cottage and vacation. The fact that the bottom has fallen out of the good life, is something they too are aware of. Hence the mood change which, in spite of Husak's optimism, is even mentioned in the official press. "The currently prevailing social climate is characterized by a growing sense of hopelessness," noted the newspaper HOSPODARSKE NOVINY at the end of last year. The atmosphere is worsening and reminds one once again of that joke which made the rounds shortly after August 1968: a man is throwing up right in the middle of St Wenceslaus Square in Prague. A passerby walks up to him and says: I know exactly what you mean.

## Charter 77's Kyncl on Situation

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBALD in Dutch 30 Apr 83 p 4

[Report on interview with Karel Kyncl, former correspondent and radio commentator for Radio Prague in New York and Asia, co-signer of Charter '77, by Peter Michielsen: "Problems Greater than in the Sixties -- One Reforms a Pig Only by Slaughtering it"]

[Text] From 1962 until 1965, Karel Kyncl was a correspondent for Radio Prague in New York, and later became a radio commentator and roving correspondent in Asia. At the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Kyncl was in Tokyo.

One month later he returned to Prague and went to work for the as yet relatively "free" television network. After he criticized Gustav Husak, he was dismissed in 1969 and thrown out of the party. Until this year, Kyncl has had to keep



himself alive with small jobs which the Husak regime reserves for the reform-minded intellectuals of the Prague Spring. He worked as clerk in a hospital and as ice cream vendor, was regularly arrested and just as regularly dismissed. In February of this year, Kyncl emigrated to England. In 1977, he was one of the signers of the document which created the Charter '77.

Rotterdam, 30 April -- "There is little in Czechoslovakia which is not sterile and immobile. Corruption perhaps. But further? Nobody dares to make any changes in the 'social contract,' which was concluded after 1968 between the regime and the people, the unwritten agreement that the regime will leave the people alone and guarantee them a reasonably good life if the people remain good and raise their hand when they are expected to do so. The government now is in imminent danger of getting into a situation in which it can no longer fulfil its part of the agreement: it is not quite as bad as in Poland yet, but it is very near it."

"Something has to happen. But what? It is a vicious circle: improvement requires structural changes, but these require political changes. Nobody dares to make these changes, and thus nothing happens."

"Once in a great while you see an Event. In November, the economist Sedlak, a non-official advisor to Prime Minister Strougal, wrote a story about desirable structural changes. According to various rumors, President and party chief Husak was furious about it. But, whatever the case may be: what does it matter? Such an article says very little. Who wrote it? Sedlak? Strougal? We don't know; all we know is that there was no follow-up."

"The situation greatly resembles that of the early sixties. But then, even party leader Novotny was willing to reform, even though he chose partial solutions, which did very little and which gave rise to the following joke: after a great deal of study, the regime had reached the conclusion that it would be safer for traffic to drive on the left. But it didn't dare, from one day to the next, to have all traffic drive on the left; thus, it decided that from a certain day onwards, all taxis would start driving on the left."

"The problems are also more profound than they were then. At that time, holy ideology still played a role. Now there are no naive people left, only cynics. Nobody believes that anything will change without changes in Moscow or a war which nobody wants. A dead end street. Survival is the motto."

"What do I expect to happen? The writer Hrabal wrote: in Czechoslovakia, the impossible is possible. I couldn't say it any better. Everything is possible. But for a hypothesis, you need information and that is lacking."

Surprised

"Andropov's advent surprised and irritated Prague."

Prague had counted on Chernenko, Brezhnev's man. Prague was furious. Perhaps not as much as in 1964, when Khrushchev was turned out of office and Novotny

even called the Kremlin to protest. That Prague had no use for Andropov was very clear from the late reaction, the late congratulations, the manner in which the party newspaper RUDE PRAVO praised Brezhnev to the skies, and from the criticism of Andropov's approach before anyone could say what it would be.

"It is possible that personnel changes could ensure a change of course, but who should succeed who? Milos Jakes, who is probably the number two man after Husak, was too much Brezhnev's man. Andropov's succession seems to have weakened his position, and during a hunting party in December he made things even worse by saying quite openly that the functions of party leader and president should once again be separated and that in that case he, Jakes, would be willing to take over one of those functions. Of course, this did not sit well with Husak, and yet, for months nothing has happened to Jakes. Either his critics are not strong enough to turn him out of office or his sin has been (temporarily) overlooked. Why? Because Andropov has taken him over as protege? It is unclear."

"Besides, don't expect too much of Jakes. He is a good deal less intelligent than Husak and he does not have anything of his own, nothing original."

"Who then? Prime Minister Strougal? He is intelligent and no puppet. There are rumors going around that he has cancer. Perhaps. Rumors about his health have been circulating for 30 years."

"Jan Fojtik, secretary of the Central Committee? A theoretician without experience. He is the man of the current discipline campaign, from which the West is drawing all kinds of conclusions. But such campaigns occur frequently. When corruption gets to be too bad, then you start a campaign against it. A couple people disappear, but most of them remain and continue on the same track."

"Who else? Minister of Foreign Affairs Obzina? Not in the short term. Vasil Bilak, the most hated man in the country because of his attitude in 1968? He has dropped down. No, Czechoslovakia is waiting for Godot, knowing that Godot will never come."

"Since the end of last year, the mood has fallen even lower. When Brezhnev died, there was a flicker of hope. Hope dies last. There were moderate expectations. Half a year later, this hope has largely disappeared. Only facts count when you judge Andropov. And there are no facts."

"Shortly before my departure, I was present at one of those discussions which former communists -- disappointed party members -- sometimes hold. They were talking about the chance for a party reform. I listened for 2 hours, but then I could no longer restrain myself. I said: you can reform a pig into pork only by slaughtering it. The same is true for the party. Pessimism? Realism."

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WRITER BOHUMIL HRABAL DISCUSSES LITERARY WORKS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 83 pp 64-65

/Interview with Bohumil Hrabal by Dzevdet Tuzlic: "The Ostentation and Madness of Life"/

/Text/ "Homework and Literature", a book by Bohumil Hrabal, gives the impression of a manuscript. It is printed on a typewriter and hardbound. A sentence from it--"I am neither an external nor an internal emigrant; if you wish, I am only an emigrant from human infinity and eternity"--seems like an inscription to someone, or to himself. Or it seems like an epitaph that will one day be carved into a headstone in Visehrad, the cemetery for Prague's famous people. It can even be considered the motto of Hrabal's creativity, which, passing between the Scylla and Charybdis of troubled times, has remained unproscribed.

Not even Hrabal himself knows how this book reached the hands of the students at the Philosophical Faculty in Prague. But the first part of the book, which is going from hand to hand, was already published earlier under the title of "Homework From Diligence," and Jiri Andrlé received the first prize for the graphic design of its title page at the Graphics Biennial in Ljubljana in 1981.

At the time when this casual conversation with Bohumil Hrabal came about, another book was only an unedited manuscript. Today, as a collection of novellas and short stories under the joint title of "Every Day a Miracle," it has already been translated in Yugoslavia and in the edition from Veselina Maslese from Sarajevo, it is at the moment at the top of the list of the most widely read books produced in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting took place in the Prague bar "U zlateho tigra" /At The Golden Tiger/, where Hrabal, with a few friends, spends every Tuesday afternoon. Most of them drink mugs of beer, with a "karbanatek" that has a pleasant smell, and in appearance and taste is reminiscent of a veal cutlet. The waiters busily carry around the Pilsen "twelfth," and irresistibly remind one of circus wire acrobats.

Hrabal is a popular writer in Czechoslovakia. It is difficult to find his books in the shops. He has been translated and is known beyond the borders of his country. He is a master of close-up detail. He takes his heroes from

tragedy to happiness and back with the simplicity of life situations that is characteristic of him. Everything develops on the brink between tragedy and laughter, elevation and banality. His heroes, regardless of whether they are artists or workers, faultlessly see clearly what is good and what is evil. The original situations in which they meet with universal views of human existence are to the glory of man, and point out the values of life and living. The measure of logic and ritual in concrete events is surprising.

"I am glad that I am being translated," Hrabal smiles. "The book that is being printed in Sarajevo is my personal choice. The texts are from various years and the readers can become acquainted with me through the years in which I matured as a writer. There are also some novellas that are less known or not at all known to readers outside of Czechoslovakia. 'The Snowdrop Festival,' for example. It has also been made into a film scenario. It again intrigued Jiri Menzel (who made himself and Hrabal famous with 'Closely Watched Trains,' which received an Oscar).

"When you see lines of people, you think that they are only waiting for meat or vegetables," Hrabal continues. "But here one can often see lines in which people wait for several hours--for a new book. When my 'Confidential Diary' went on sale, I could not believe that so many people had come to snatch my 39 pages.

"My books are printed by Mlada Fronta /Young Front/ and Klub Poezije /Poetry Club/, publishing houses which have a young public, and I think, a sensible one. These are intellectuals who see any present in specific terms, and expect immediacy and social involvement from an author in the sense of including them in the resolution of urgent everyday problems. I work on having my books appear something like, and I write constantly. I take notes."

Question In the book "Homework and Literature," we find many stories, notes, and philosophical considerations... Most of the passages characteristically begin, "I remember..." Then, do you arrange memories?

Answer The basis for my writing is what I see and what I myself witness. Many people tell me that I write more than I live. But that is not true. A person has to live, receive something from outside, and only then put it into a text, with the addition of something that is called experience and imagination, which is inherent in a literary creator. For me, life and writing are interwoven and supplement each other. Not everything in life is a subject for writing. There has to be a subtext and a supertext.

And what you mentioned... Those are my favorite subjects. I remember my childhood. That is the best memory for everyone, regardless of the circumstances under which it was lived. I remember, let us say, the spacious and sunny rooms of my grandmother, who took me to the vineyard, into the sun. I remember my mother in bed. I remember a woman in a brewery in a black dress and in high-heeled shoes.

I also remember something terrible--that I was dead. It was horrible. Daydreams and dreams come with that reality. The moments when one drifts away

from any reality, and pictures of sleepy regions and people woven of beauty come. And isn't childhood itself a dream? I wrote a few sentences about that at the end of my book "Every Day Is a Miracle."

The further a person advances in life, the more he feels the need to return to his childhood, and the more he feels a longing to return to his childish ideas and realize what he thought about as a child, what he dreamed about. Closing my circle, I stopped with the few years in elementary school in which I knew how to fly and I did not know the laws of flight, when I knew how to reach conclusions more precisely than ever before, when I lay down with books and put everything on the map of education.

And thus, in these stories I capture beautiful images, images that do not age. Just as in my book "Every Day a Miracle" I remained the same child in a sailor suit with a school bag over his shoulders. Thus, while my body is dying away, I realized that this child in me is not only my tutor, and not only the light in this late twilight, but also the measure of all those things over which neither dying nor death has any influence.

/Question/ Several theatrical presentations have also been based on your books. Vaclav Nyvit is your favorite collaborator in the theater, as Menzel is in film. He dramatized "Closely Watched Trains," "The Tender Barbarian," "Bambine di Praga"...

/Answer/ Nyvit is a playwright in whom I have boundless trust, and I have never felt the need to look over the adaptation that he has made on the basis of any of my books. I go to "Cinoherní klub" or "Divadlo na Zbraslavi," I watch the presentation, and I have never left the theater dissatisfied.

/Question/ One very often hears the expressions Hrabal's poetry, Hrabal's films and plays.

/Answer/ Such a question is frequently raised, not just to me, but also to many people who have managed to attract the attention of the broader public through their creative work. But this is normal. I have always tried only to be myself, different from the rest. Others have made observations on this, but I never have, because I am still only trying to be Bohumil Hrabal.

I have never offered my books for adaptation, but I was glad to see how they came alive on film and in the theater. I have never attended rehearsals. Only the director Ivo Korbout interested me in a scene. When he was directing "The Tender Barbarian" at the Drama Club, he wanted every picture to have an inner hidden message, and so he told me that it would be good if I followed every word uttered by the actor. He asked me to take him and the actors along the old Libno, the roads and towns where the protagonists of my text moved and lived sometime in the 1950's. The rehearsals were a seminar on ethics and esthetics. The script was a free one. The actors gave every new performance of the presentation a new freshness, a new charm in the acting.

/Question/ The lively atmosphere in "U zlateho tigra" became increasingly stronger. It became darker. Customers were continually coming in, and no one left. Some only waved to Hrabal, some called something over to him, and others shook hands with him...

/Answer/ I like peripheral, quiet inns. Fewer people know me there and I can drink my beer in a lively privacy. When strangers come up and want to talk to me, then I really begin to interrogate them. About everything. What troubles them, what delights them, what inspires them, what they hope for. I used to talk about myself, my books, my philosophy of life, sometimes so loudly that people at neighboring tables could hear. If I had a position, why shouldn't other people hear it--sometimes it would be a real speech. Then that "inflammatory" state would fade away. I would be quiet, drink my beer, and sort of be ashamed of my automatic attempt to be the first. But only for a moment.

/Question/ You used to like a somewhat different atmosphere?

/Answer/ Yes, I spoke about that in the prologue to my book "Every Day a Miracle." Then I liked to listen to other people, but without questions. I sought people and atmospheres when under the influence of the moment or events it happened that they tore open their shirts and showed me their hearts. And I can see that what philosophers ponder is carved on their hearts with a diamond. I like places where there are many people and where our native language is shaped as if with a plane, where new words are produced, slang is polished, and myths are stretched, where through their speech people mutually investigate who they are, what they are, and what they would like to be.

/Question/ Isn't all of this reminiscent of the failure and attempt to resist failure, as in "Legend in Kainova"?

/Answer/ "Legend" talks about ordinary failure. In school, for example, and then in life. I have a horror of traumas from which it is difficult for a person to free himself. This is a failure that means both psychological and physical death. I value a "phoenix-like" failure, the capability of rising again. The only good in living for me is to live for the ostentation and madness of life. Every failure strengthens us, affects our soul, and teaches a person compassion for animals and love for people, or vice versa. Someone who does not fail is not a man, just as someone who does not think about suicide at least once in his life is not a man.

It is necessary to fail in order to be happy when you do not, in order to be able to recognize that state. I think that good literature is nothing more than failing and getting up. It is important for a person to know how to look himself over, clean the dust off himself, and turn toward a new battle. He has to win for such a long time until he has enough of winning and by failing, falls into the abyss of failure. Thus, when you fail in school and in life, don't give in to sadness.

I am sometimes seized by sadness and longing, and I would like to direct my life toward the spaces left of the slab with the inscription of my city, with the road beyond that same city on the right, and to wander away to some river, and follow the riverbed to its source. I think of this departure of mine as the departure of the young hero Rene Claire, as the departure of Chaplin from films. Fortunately, it is only a longing. Or is it my misfortune?

/Question/ What else do you want?

/Answer/ To continue to live in conflict situations, in moral contradictions, but in such a way that they are synthesized somewhere in the universe, without losing furthermore, my belief in the ostentation and madness of life.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

VITRIOLIC ATTACKS AGAINST FRG'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY RENEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 57, 16 Apr 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Discerns 'Crisis of Social Democracy.'" A translation of the East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] An "acute deepening of the crisis of Social Democracy," stated the East Berlin Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW) (April 1983). "The internal conflicts of Social Democracy, the contradiction between the expectations aimed at it as part of the labor movement and its actual politics, which support the system and are socially reformist, as well as the results of them" are said to have caused this climactic crisis, the institute asserted in its internal publication IPW-BERICHTE. The symptoms of these politics are "diminishing confidence by the voters, in part considerable loss of members, disappointment and dissatisfaction over party leadership policies--regardless of whether they are in opposition or in government," as well as the formation of various movements of political wings going as far as separation. With this the experience was said to be confirmed, that Social Democracy "possesses no prescriptions or alternatives for shaping imperialism in a more social manner," and that as a consequence there is no third route between capitalism and socialism. The prospects for Social Democracy will be influenced in a lasting way by "whether it provides realistic answers to current, acute problems such as unemployment, crisis burdens, social cutbacks, accelerated armament or disarmament."

GDR Political Analyst's Critique

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 12 No 4, Apr 83 pp 12-18

[ 'Analyses--Problems' feature article by Klaus Zechmeister: "On the Crisis of Social Reformism in Our Times: Karl Marx Vindicated by Capitalist Reality --Reformist Illusions Shattered on the Ground of Reality--Contradictory Posture on Imperialist Arms Build-up"]



[Text] In the 1970's and 1980's a number of Western European Social Democratic parties broke up which had been in government position. After 44 years in power the Swedish Social Democrats in 1976 left the government (for 6 years); in 1979 the Labour Party in Great Britain went into opposition, and in 1982 the Social Democratic Parties of Denmark and Norway and, after 13 years in office, the FRG Social Democratic Party went into opposition. This loss of government function was not only the expression of a temporary shrinking of the base among the masses, but also and above all a serious defeat of the ideology and politics of social reformism.

#### Historical Crisis of Social Reformism

However, the crisis of social reformism is not a phenomenon of time limited to the present. It has class-related and historical reasons, which are rooted in the fact that the real leaders of Social Democracy have turned more toward catering to the interests of the exploiters than toward realizing the interests of the workers.<sup>1</sup> Firmly tied to the state-monopolistic system through their bourgeois ideology, they have "for decades proved themselves to be reliable defenders of the capitalist social system. At the same time they represent parties, which on the basis of their historical tradition, their original socialist goal and their social base among the masses in the principal countries of monopolistic capital, in particular in Western Europe, possess a great many ties to the working class."<sup>2</sup>

As early as the 1870's Marx and Engels already led a difficult struggle against those opportunist forces, which, emanating from the General German Workers' Union, tried to propagate a bourgeois-reformist concept in the labor movement. It was this movement, influenced by Lassalle, which disregarded the historical mission of the working class and believed that it could reform the imperialist society by supporting the bourgeois state.

Marx, in particular, in his marginal notes on the Gotha program, turned sharply against the illusions circulated by Lassalle about the character of the exploiting state. By indicating the rule of the working class in alliance with the working farmers he showed the labor movement the scientifically based way to reach its goal, socialism/communism.

With the transition of capitalism toward its imperialist phase, opportunism as a bourgeois or petit-bourgeois current of the labor movement became a general phenomenon of the then industrially developed nations. Its main function, no matter what form it has taken since then, consists of splitting the labor movement, of getting a grip on considerable portions of the working class politically and ideologically and of subordinating their class interests to the profit and power struggle of monopolistic capital. In so doing, it has long since "stopped concerning itself with reconciliation of parts of the working class with the existing order, but concerns itself with being active for state-monopolistic capitalism."<sup>3</sup>

The basic pattern of social reformism was essentially always the same: Cooperation with the antagonistic classes, harmonization of the irreconcilable class conflicts, inclusion of reforms in the framework of capitalist

production conditions, unconditional acceptance of the "rules of the game" of bourgeois democracy, denial of the necessity for revolutionary succession of the imperialist social system by the working class. To this end the social-reformist parties always had to endeavor to carry on a policy of safeguarding capitalism while mitigating its worst excesses, while realizing social policy reforms, and propagating the illusion that an actual reshaping of social conditions in favor of the working people was possible, that is to say while avoiding the proletarian revolution and without establishment of the worker and peasant power.

With the development and consolidation of this social reformist class concept, which is basically oriented toward the interests of the bourgeoisie, that is to say maintaining the exploitation conditions, Social Democracy even before the turn of the century entered a crisis which consequently can be described as a historical crisis. "The crisis of Social Democracy....has been a constant side effect of Social Democracy since its changeover to opportunist, reformist positions and its renunciation of basic change in the capitalist society in the direction of socialism."<sup>4</sup>

As a result, contrary to the allegations of conservative forces, the political defeats that have constantly--and recently even more often-- befallen social reformism are not due to its advocacy of unrealizable democratic reforms, which overtaxes the economy and the administration. Rather, its crisis results from the fact that it directs the struggle of the working class and its unions toward narrowly limited partial goals and thereby contributes to the consolidation of the imperialist system of rule primarily by the fact that socialism is abandoned, yes, extinguished from the consciousness of the workers.<sup>5</sup>

This crisis always came to a head when the social reformist promises turned out to be unrealizable in an especially blatant manner.

The following will deal not with a historical review, but precisely with the present deepening of the crisis of Social Democracy.

#### Acute Deepening of the Crisis of Social Reformism at the Present Time

While after World War II Social Democracy initially was intent on using the phase of economic recovery, by means of efforts to achieve improvements in social policy for the working people, in order to expand its social foundation, it has now changed, particularly in the course of the present difficult capitalist economic crisis, to helping accomplish the scheme of big capital for shifting the crisis and armament burdens to the working population.<sup>6</sup> This had to cause tensions not only between the social reformist party leaderships including their memberships and voter bases, but the historical crisis of social reformism had to deteriorate more and more into an acute crisis.

The reactionary way out of the crisis incurred by monopolistic capital and its political representatives, namely the reduction of real wages, drastic cutbacks in social expenditures and possibly investments to annihilate

additional jobs by means of rationalization and elimination of measures to combat the still growing mass unemployment, has become the basic orientation of imperialist economic policy. Meanwhile, however, the political scope of Social Democracy is only possible within the limits--imposed by social reformism itself--given by the current capital distribution conditions and profit expectations of monopolistic capital. The result is that it is totally unable to prevent the crisis from affecting the working population, and in fact the middle class and tradespeople, too. At the 1979 party convention when Willy Brandt even spoke of a "sweeping, often crisis-like change" and did not doubt that "many things will not again, never again, be what they were,"<sup>7</sup> he was thoroughly correct, if by that he meant the associated negative development of the working situation of the working people. And at the same time the aggravated crisis situation opens up unfavorable prospects for Social Democracy as well.

It became clear during the 1981 budget debate in the FRG that government policy there, regardless of which of the established parties embraces it, will now reverse the achievements in social policy. In the United States this anti-worker policy is directly described as "give back." In the FRG the CDU and CSU are calling the same red-pencil policy "a breathing pause in social policy." How much the SPC gave in to the pressure caused by the serious economic crisis could be seen as early as 28 May 1981 in the SPD publication VORWAERTS, which represented the view that "one only has to reconcile a balanced budget and economic policy when undertaking massive shifts in the budget. That means that social 'achievement laws' are no longer taboo." Reality since the 1970's shows that social reformism in the FRG, as in all capitalist industrial nations in the wake of this development, today can no longer make it look credible that capitalism can be socially reformed while retaining the property and power relationships--as had been asserted throughout the entire postwar period. The breakdown of social reformist policy and, as a result, the deepening of its crisis is thus evident.

The demands by the ruling circles on the Social Democratic leadership have changed drastically under the influence of the crisis development. They openly demand their contribution for the improvement of the economic framework conditions, which contains the political objective of reinforcing monopolist power and profit positions. In the area of economic policy the goal is to restructure the state budget in favor of monopolistic capital, to make incisive cutbacks in social services and to reduce the wage rate autonomy of the unions. While the employer associations changed to even more aggressive representation of their class politics, they demand and expect of the Social Democratic leaderships that they should adjust their policies, meaning accomplish the goals of monopolistic capital either in government or, as an opposition party, by means of mass politics.

Consequently, when the crisis-conditioned difficulties occurred, Social Democracy announced that its reform policy could only function on the basis of overall economic growth,<sup>8</sup> and as before, contrary to its present experience, it does not in any way indicate its basic position that "individual economic control over the means of production and market competition....to a large extent is indispensable."<sup>9</sup>

The identification of the Social Democratic parties with the social system of imperialism, translated as market economy, has been heavily emphasized time and again. This was the case at the 1971 party convention, where it was said that the system of market economy is "an order, to which we must attach the greatest importance."<sup>10</sup> This fundamental position of social reformism was formulated even more strongly by former FRG Finance Minister Hans Matthoefer: "Many are of the opinion that the CDU could manage the capitalist state better. We can do it better, and we not only say it, we also prove it."<sup>11</sup>

Although this proof was not accomplished, it is precisely this basic position which prevents the Social Democratic leadership from "seeking a way out of the deep capitalist crisis in the interest of the working people and implementing in practice its concepts for the defense of the democratic and social rights of the working people to fight unemployment."<sup>12</sup>

In the first few years after World War II, on the other hand, the Social Democrats at least talked about a "new socialist order," even as a requirement for eliminating the constant threat to workers and employees from economic crises and unemployment.<sup>13</sup> But today the SPD neither speaks of a new socialist order nor does it otherwise represent a concept for making it plausible that it could prevent economic crises and mass unemployment. "Typical of Social Democratic leadership and government policies is not their defense against the crisis strategy of big capital, but active participation in carrying it out,"<sup>14</sup> it says in a Marxist FRG publication.

While social reformist policies were conceptually founded only on the illusion of everlasting economic growth, all social promises had to fade away with the increasingly acute economic crises processes since the end of the 1960's.<sup>15</sup> This state of affairs was expressed as follows by SPD Bundestag member Hermann Scheer: "However, the more it turned out that reform policy produces subsequent problems and cannot be perfect, the more clearly the dark sides of technological development showed. The more difficult the international and national framework conditions turned out, the more clearly did what had not been achieved move to the foreground of attention ahead of what had been achieved. The harder the more far-reaching reform goals bounced against economic and power-political opposition....and the number of disappointed in the SPD and in the critical movements outside the SPD grew larger....the more Social Democrats there were, who began to doubt the politics of their own party."<sup>16</sup>

They are right to doubt: With the crisis of the political and economic system of state-monopolistic capitalism, social reformism also had to end up in a crisis that came to a head, since it is no longer in a position to fulfill even considerably lowered expectations from its supporters.<sup>17</sup> The announcement of reforms for the improvement of social services, of renters' rights, of more chances for education and continuing education for all layers of the population were some areas, for which the SPD was able to attract a crowd in the 1970's. The disappointment must have been all the greater, when one began reverse even these limited, painstakingly achieved accomplishments and it became obvious that any reformist room of action has been lost for a long time to come. When, still in the phase of high-pitched expectations, the Social

Democratic minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, Heinz Kuehn, said: "One step of practical reform has still had more power to change history than a hundred steps of revolution,"<sup>18</sup> then today it has unequivocally shown itself to be a totally unjustified hope--to be an illusion which helped the ruling class to secure its power.

#### Acknowledging the Imperialist State

That safeguarding the existing power relationships is among the express goals of social reformism is unmistakably confirmed by its position on the state. All parties of the Socialist International define the bourgeois state as an institution which stands above the classes and serves the entire society. In this sense they always act as so-called state-supporting parties, regardless of whether they are part of the government or in opposition.

They acknowledge the bourgeois state just as much as they acknowledge the rules of the game of bourgeois parliamentarism. In a decision by the Socialist International they therefore stress it as a goal to strive for a new society, "with democratic means."<sup>19</sup> By that they mean that the social reformist idea of a new society in no way needs to change the state. The bourgeois-parliamentary system supposedly guarantees it a democratic character anyhow. According to Hans-Jochen Vogel, the SPD has "at no time professed itself in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, in his opposition to Lassalle's Gotha program Marx already pointed out that precisely in the democratic republic "the class struggle must definitely be fought."<sup>21</sup> Instead, however, the Social Democrats pursue the class compromise, which is identical with renouncing the fulfillment of the historical mission of the working class. This "program" was formulated in an unmistakable way by SPD executive committee member Peter von Oertzen: "The SPD wants to be a 'reformist' party. This means that it strives for the goal of democratic socialism through gradual, legal and peaceful changes....It therefore renounces total confrontation with the existing system and all--even just verbal--play with the idea of the 'revolution.'<sup>22</sup>

The basic statement of social reformism formulated by von Oertzen confirms that its field of action is the alleged capitalist social system, which as such should not be touched. He limits himself to the achievement of partial improvements within this social system while using the opportunities of bourgeois democracy. Under these political premises the social reformist "path" leads in the direction of a stabilization of the capitalist system.

As early as 1879 Marx and Engels had asked: "But what is bourgeois democracy doing in the Social Democratic party?"<sup>23</sup> However, if this was still a point of discussion in Social Democracy at the end of the 19th century, then the position described above in the words of Vogel and Oertzen is unequivocally decisive. In this connection, Engels's conflict with the general right to vote must be noted. On the occasion of the dissolution of the General German Workers' Organization on 16 September 1868 he charged that the general right to vote had not brought the workers one step closer to political power.<sup>24</sup> Not in a single Western European nation with strong Social Democracy--even in

those where they held government power--had the working class acquired true positions of power. This could not be any different, since social reformism acknowledges the capitalist system and consequently does not touch monopolistic capital ownership.

In its ideology Social Democracy therefore limits itself to empty phrases such as human dignity, free responsibility for oneself, personality development and justice. The question of political power has been totally abandoned in favor of a blurred anthropological-moralizing goal. This as well was something Marx and Engels addressed more than 100 years ago: "Where the class struggle gets pushed aside as a disagreeable "raw" phenomenon, nothing remains as the basis for socialism but 'true love of humanity' and empty phrases about 'justice'."25

In fact: It cannot be contested by capitalism-apologists of all shades--be they of conservative or social reformist color--that these are empty phrases. Economic crises and mass unemployment have caused the announced intentions (the guarantee of human dignity, free self-responsibility and personality development, justice etc.) to move far out of reach, yes, even cause positions thought to be secure to be lost.

#### Demand for Full Employment and Economic Growth

Coming out in favor of full employment and social security has been part of the indispensable program points of the Social Democratic parties since their beginnings. In their 1954 declaration the parties of the Socialist International demand economic and social security,<sup>26</sup> the program of the Socialist Party of Austria demands the guarantee of full employment through anticyclical measures, and according to the program of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland economic policy must be aimed at full employment.<sup>28</sup> These demands, which correspond with the vital interests of their supporters, are the fields of activity where Social Democratic parties for ages have been particularly firmly entrenched under the conditions of the capitalist economy.

The SPD mentioned as its economic policy goals for the FRG: The guarantee of full employment, furthermore a just income distribution and relative stability of the price level.<sup>29</sup> But this "orientation" given for the years 1975 to 1985 has shown itself to be nothing but a pipe dream, although the SPD has been the governing party for the past years. As in other capitalist nations, the FRG economy is in a state which does not allow for "full employment" and, on the contrary, has caused chronic mass unemployment.

Since 1980 the employment situation has even deteriorated at an accelerating pace. With 2.5 million jobless at the end of their [the SPD's] government period, the FRG even registered mass unemployment that reached the level of one of the worst postwar years, and this rapid increase will, according to statements by bourgeois economic institutes as well, continue for a long time.<sup>30</sup>

Parallel to this, it can be stated in reference to the "just distribution of income" propagated by social reformism, that real wages since 1980 have been

declining for the third year in a row, after growth rates at the overall economic wage and salary level have been dropping noticeably for years.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, not only has the real income situation for the vast majority of working people deteriorated in absolute terms, but a redistribution process, which since then has developed drastically, simultaneously occurred in favor of the profits. Under an SPD-controlled government this was aided by the constantly increasing tax burden on the working people--again in favor of profits and armament.

This development naturally damaged the ability to convince of the social reformist politics all the more, since the intent had been to make the elimination of exploitation, and therefore the creation of a 'just system,' credible even under capitalist ownership conditions by means of a wage policy aimed toward more 'just' income distribution. Even the promised assistance to small and medium-sized enterprises could not be kept. On the contrary: The highest figure since World War II was reached with 11,653 bankruptcies in 1981;<sup>32</sup> from 1980 to mid-1982 28,255 companies went bankrupt in the FRG.

#### No Prescription for Overcoming the Crisis

The present time of capitalism shows particularly forcefully, that social reformism has no idea for overcoming the crisis or for preventing the crisis, or even a concept which would be suitable at least for safeguarding the most urgent vital interests of the working people against the effects of the crimes of the monopolistic capitalist economy.

The chairman of the SPD Land government of Schleswig-Holstein, Guenther Jansen, explains the basic crisis situation of Social Democracy with the fact that, even at the time when the SPD headed the government, "the interests of capital--for example of auto conglomerates, for example of energy conglomerates, for example of chemical giants, for example of weapons manufacturers--are still regulated faster and better than the interests of the people."<sup>33</sup>)

In fact, this also applies to the decision "Social Democratic Prospects for Regaining Full Employment--Work for All," taken at the SPD convention in Munich in April 1982. If, in view of the dramatically deteriorating overall economic and sociopolitical situation, one were to ask oneself about its substantial contents, the answer would turn out to be depressing for the Social Democrats, for the decision described as "prospects" is revealed as nothing but a program to promote employer interests. There is talk about strengthening the international competitive ability of "our national economy" (!) through modernization, about focal points for an investment program chiefly in energy and environmental policy, about the need to strengthen the flexibility of the German economy primarily in energy, raw materials and steel, as well as in plant construction and machine-building."<sup>34</sup> None of this differs from what the monopolies are demanding in order to overcome the crisis. Furthermore, the active function of the state in solving the crisis is to be broadened, a function which is to promote structural and technological change, among other things, through a suitable tax policy and through the creation of the necessary framework conditions.

As for the interests of the working people, in particular the working class, the appeal is initially to the solidarity of the working people with the non-working people, because social peace is in danger. While emphasizing the right to work as an indispensable Social Democratic principle, the creation of new jobs is demanded, to be sure, but this is to be achieved--as has been done for ages in state monopolistic capitalism--by means of stimulating "the economy" to make investments. Profit incentive is the prescription for it.

Vis-a-vis the interests of the workers, in its most recent decisions the SPD even went back to before the 1982 decision by the party congress in urging the workers to help overcome the crisis by giving up any improvement in their standard of living: "Where we must ask for sacrifices from those who have a secure place of work or a secure income, we will stagger their sacrifices in a fair manner....We know that a significant shortening of the work week must be financed by a lower increase in wages."<sup>35</sup> A "fair distribution" of the sacrifice--that is thus all that remains of the high-faluting social reformist promises. At the same time the subject is a direct, already revealed offer to the employers to integrate the workers into the capitalist system by means of social reformist policies even in times of an economic crisis. And, moreover, here is visible the readiness to contribute, even in "opposition," to the imperialist strategy of overcoming, or shifting, the crisis--in the effort to achieve so-called socialist consensus, that is to say "social peace," or, in other words, to guarantee the power of the monopolies.

On the part of the DKP the following was said about the SPD's line: "If the SPD in its Munich decision is concerned about its 'profile,' because it is accused by the public of failing in the coalition and as a party, then it is also because it does not want to show that the causes of the capitalist crisis and its effects are the evil of the power of capital. This sociopolitical background remains totally untouched throughout the entire proposal....The fact is, that in capitalist systems no stable economic development, no balanced economic structures, and neither price stability nor full employment can be achieved."<sup>36</sup>

#### Contradictory Peace Issue

The most important task of the present time undoubtedly consists in maintaining peace and halting the arms race.<sup>37</sup>

Influential politicians of the Socialist International and the majority of their parties today recognize the politics of peaceful coexistence as the only realistic basis for relations between states with different social systems.<sup>38</sup> In their writings Social Democratic parties emphasize the necessity and opportunity for solving the global problems by means of detente, but not by means of war. The SPD, and for example Great Britain's Labour Party, Australia's Labour Party, the Belgian Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Italy, the New Democratic Party in Canada, the Social Democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries and the Socialist Party of France advocate the development of cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence.



In an essay Willy Brandt stated: "Without peace nothing has any meaning."<sup>39</sup> At the 1979 SPD party congress he demanded that one "stimulate the policy of detente and solidify it through bilateral disarmament."<sup>40</sup> This position is of importance in creating a sound political climate in Europe and stands in significant contrast to the policy of the United States which is aimed at confrontation and military superiority. When former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stressed in the Bundestag, that "security through treaty-based military balance on a low level of armament will remain a chief element of the politics of peace" and furthermore "without treaties, in particular regarding disarmament, there is no lasting security between West and East,"<sup>41</sup> this is in line with the demands of the present time, as other prominent Social Democrats have also said.

In this sense, above all because of the pressure of their mass basis, the Social Democratic parties can be an important factor in carrying out the politics of detente and in preventing a nuclear war. But at the same time it cannot be overlooked that on the issue of confrontation politics and armament on the one hand, and the guarantee of peace and disarmament on the other, two lines of thinking are active in Social Democracy.

It does not seem to irritate right-wing leadership forces, which openly represent the U.S. doctrine of nuclear first use,<sup>42</sup> that on the armament or disarmament issue they themselves take second place to representatives of U.S. monopolistic capital or former high-level NATO military men, who in view of the danger of nuclear war and under pressure of the international balance of strength have found a more realistic position and in part argue considerably more strongly for balanced disarmament than do some prominent Social Democrats. With their support of NATO politics, Social Democratic politicians share responsibility for the aggravated international situation. Social Democratic politicians are among those who helped push through the portentous missile decision and until very recently defended it.

At least two ideological aspects are of importance in judging this position: First, social reformism denies the natural relationship between capitalism and war. While Marxism proves precisely that war has its social roots in the system of exploitation and that there is a close link between the struggle for peace and social progress, these mutual relationships are expressly denied by social reformism. Second, social reformism helps shape the security concept because the imperialist state is represented as standing above the classes, defending the life and interests of all.

In the question of peace and the sources of danger of war, social reformism undertakes to switch the cause and effect by placing, in agreement with the politics of the United States and NATO, the blame for tensions and extensive armament primarily on the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union. From this, chiefly from its anticommunist basic attitude, also comes the contradictory character of the positions on the issue of war and peace.

Although the Social Democratic parties never doubted their readiness to support the NATO politics in principle, it cannot be disregarded that on

certain essential points in the adventurous politics coming from Reagan they followed only hesitantly and unwillingly and take pains to represent independent positions. But that did not save them from being divided by deep-rooted conflicts in connection with the NATO missile decision in December 1979.

Despite urgent exhortations by many delegates, at the 1979 SPD party congress the party leadership forced through the so-called double decision, in which on the one hand stationing of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles was agreed to and on the other hand realization of the outcome of the negotiations between the United States and the USSR were made dependent on each other. At the time the motive for this decision was, among others, that it should make it easier for the United States to effect the upcoming ratification of the SALT II agreement. However, the ruling circles in the United States were not at all thinking of ratifying the SALT II treaty. Karsten Voigt, foreign policy spokesman for the SPD, had declared at the party congress: "Whoever denies the SALT II treaty the majority required for ratification, also politically questions the preconditions on which the NATO decisions planned for December (1979) are based."<sup>44</sup> But there were no consequences. On the contrary, in 1982 Willy Brandt expressly emphasized that the "double NATO decision" belonged to the "basic elements" of the decision by the party congress.<sup>45</sup>

On the other hand, SPD politicians have recently to an increasing extent been demanding that everything must be done to prevent, via the Geneva talks, the U.S. intermediate-range missiles from being stationed.<sup>46</sup> Two factors determine this: First, the convincing initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations to end the arms race, in particular their accommodating offer, which should not be ignored, on the issue of intermediate-range weapons, and, second, the positive response which these politics to frustrate the various U.S. nuclear war strategies elicit in the public of the capitalist nations. It has been shown in polls that for example in the FRG the majority of the population is not only against continuing the arms race, but specifically against positioning new U.S. missiles in the FRG. No fewer than 65 percent of the SPD voters are said to represent this viewpoint.<sup>47</sup>

But now, as before, the position of the social reformist parties and their leadership forces is split on this issue. Internationally seen, it ranges from the express approval of stationing the missiles held by French President Mitterrand (although France itself is not at all affected by the stationing) to the unequivocally negative decision by the British Labour Party.

On the other hand, a last decision by the SPD is still missing, although the date scheduled by NATO for the stationing has come a great deal closer. While members and functionaries actively participate in the peace movement, there are simultaneously strong circles which because of anticommunist reservations reject this participation, particularly the cooperation with political forces to the left of Social Democracy, and thereby weaken the resistance movement against the NATO missile policy.

In this connection it cannot be ignored by the leaderships of the Social Democratic parties in Western Europe that increasingly larger groups in the

capitalist countries come out against the aggressive military-political strategy of imperialism, in particular against the U.S. nuclear war strategy. Not only are the voices multiplying which refer to the link between arming, unemployment, social cutbacks and economic crisis, but broad opposition to the politics of military arming and confrontation is also organizing, in which for example church organizations or those that have devoted themselves to resolving ecological tasks in part are more active than the Social Democratic parties. It is understandable that this constitutes a significant area of tension for the Social Democratic parties.

While in past years unrestricted approval of the NATO missile decision dominated in the SPD leadership groups, distinct shifts of emphasis showed up in the last few months. At the beginning of this year party chairman W. Brandt and SPD presidium member E. Bahr stated at length, that the compromise proposals by the Soviet Union should be evaluated. They confirm the concept of a security partnership with the socialist nations in Europe, turn against the automatic stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles and favor including the French and British nuclear weapons in the disarmament negotiations. Now the U.S. side should also "move" in the Geneva talks and abandon its rigid position, they said.

SPD executive committee member Erhard Eppler referred to the fact that it is mainly the leftist forces of Social Democracy which must succeed in breaking the vicious circle of prearming and postarming.<sup>48</sup> Rudolf Hartung, chairman of the Young Socialists, stated: "Our chief self-imposed goal remains blocking the armament of the FRG with nuclear missiles which is demanded by NATO and the Reagan government."<sup>49</sup>

The Social Democratic parties of Western Europe can in fact have a significant input in the decision over whether opposition to the U.S. confrontation strategy will succeed, especially the stationing of Pershing 2 missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe. But this requires of them that they arrive at unambiguous positions.

#### There Is no Third Way Between Capitalism and Socialism

The internal conflicts of Social Democracy, the opposition between what is expected of it as being part of the labor movement and its actual system-supporting, social reformist policy as well as the results of that, are the cause of the acute aggravation of its crisis. The symptoms of this are lack of confidence by the voters, in part considerable membership losses, disappointments and dissatisfaction over the policies of the party leaderships --regardless of whether they are in opposition or in government--, furthermore the development of various movements or political wings going as far as separation, whereby the dimension and extent of these phenomena vary between individual parties.

In this manner Marx's opinion and the experience made by the international labor movement after his death are confirmed, that social reformism, as well as every other form of opportunism, does not possess any prescriptions or alternatives for "making" imperialism "more social," and that consequently

there is no third way <sup>50</sup> between capitalism and socialism. This had been asserted by all the different-sounding theories, hostile to Marx's teachings, theories which in the end serve only to justify and defend the capitalist exploitation system, "as well as those theories which praise reformist solutions or disseminate utopian, unrealistic ideas of socialism which did not stand up to the test of history....All the beautiful speeches about 'social partnership,' the 'welfare state,' 'people's capitalism,' the disappearance of classes and the class struggle have popped like soap bubbles,"<sup>51</sup> concluded Kurt Hager, a member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, at its fifth meeting.

At the 1982 SPD party congress Willy Brandt posed the question: "For what policies do we desire and for what policy are we able to find a majority?" He answered it himself: "Certainly for a policy which agrees with the interests and wishes of the broad layers," because the SPD will be measured by whether it proves itself "as a party of work and a party of the workers."<sup>52</sup> This question does not result in the concept of a revolutionary policy for social reformism either. But today's capitalist reality forces the SPD as a "party of the workers" to defend their interests to an increasing degree against the power of the capital.

The working people of the Western nations who elect Social Democrats to parliaments expect their parties to prevent the burdens of crises from being shifted onto the workers. And they demand full participation in order to end the arms race, to assure peace and, in addition, to prevent the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

Social Democracy cannot avoid these today particularly tangible demands. Its prospects will long be influenced by how it deals with the expectations of its supporters, whether it provides realistic answers to current, acute problems such as unemployment, crisis burdens, social cutbacks, accelerated armament or disarmament.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED ORGAN ANALYZES RECENT PROBLEMS IN FRG-GDR RELATIONS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 May 83 p 2

['Politics' feature article signed 'A.Z.': "On the Relations Between the GDR and the FRG"]

[Text] On 28 April 1983, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, informed Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the FRG, that "in view of recent developments in FRG-GDR relations no one among us seriously believes" he could now, "that is, this year, come and visit the FRG." Those who had created the tense atmosphere were to be blamed for it, who also had torpedoed the intention to turn regular meetings between the representatives of both German states into a normal procedure, which would have had favorable effects on GDR-FRG relations and, hence, on the situation in Central Europe.

After what had taken place previously, no one could be surprised by this message to Chancellor Kohl. No one, after all, could ignore that such agitators as Strauss, Springer and others had deliberately brought about a situation hard to exceed in hostility against the GDR. Only recall the riots against the GDR's national ice hockey team in Dortmund, the abuse, with such expletives as "murderers" and "pigs," heaped on it and the clubbing of coaches and players. The question of which city it is from where the FRG is ruled thereby assumed minor significance.

An event, regrettable as such, as the death of a traveler on transit was manipulated to make the "national spirit" boil over, although everybody knows that sometimes unfortunately fatalities do occur when travel and tourism reach 30 million per year--if one adds to the transit and travel between the FRG and the GDR also the traffic between the GDR and West Berlin. In the past, from 1 January 1981 to 26 April 1983, there were 520 persons who died en route, 397 citizens of the FRG and 123 West Berliners. At the same period, 260 GDR citizens died while visiting the FRG. To take care of the problems connected with it, rules were set up between the GDR and the FRG in conformity with international arrangements, and they did work all right up to recently.



Why then this hullabaloo about the tragic death of a traveler? The answer is obvious. Strauss, Springer and others including their representatives in the FRG government--and mind you, the Strauss party has five ministers in the FRG cabinet--have no use for the whole business. The term continuity affects them as a torero's red rag affects a bull in the arena. And so the natural demise of travelers had to make do to destroy the continuity in the Ostpolitik which the new FRG government initially had endorsed and the Kohl government had advocated during the election campaign and when talking with GDR representatives, and to initiate a political turn vis-a-vis the GDR and the other socialist countries.

It is part of the offensive in untruth that they now are trying to stand things on their head. This all the more so as what matters to the agitators is to deceive the FRG citizens and in 1983, against the express intention of the majority, deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles.

While in the past they blamed the Jews and bicyclists for everything, now purportedly the customs officials and police are the ones to be blamed though they have been responsible for the smooth flow of traffic on the GDR transit routes for more than 10 years. They and, hence, the GDR are to be blamed for the irresponsible acts of those who hate good relations between the GDR and the FRG as the devil hates the holy water.

The GDR citizens understand all that perfectly. Anyone who doubts that only need to take a look around. Many statements and opinions expressed about it also attest to that.

We remember, when Chancellor Kohl took over in Bonn, one could often hear he intended to anchor the FRG more solidly within the western alliance on the basis of the existing treaty system and simultaneously carry on the Ostpolitik as it existed.

All welcomed that observation, and there were quite a few on the eve of the new elections of 6 March who expected that with the economic recovery in the FRG Kohl announced, the elimination of massive unemployment and the availability of more apprenticeships, at the same time, the best prerequisites were being created for a broad-range extension of relations between the FRG and the GDR. That impression was strengthened by the active reciprocal ministerial visits which had gotten started by the previous government and had been continued by the new FRG government.

But everything changed completely. Although the GDR in recent months was clearly seeking good relations with Bonn while going to the limit of what it could do, an icy wind blew across the border between the two Germanys from Bonn irrespective of the spring that had come to the Rhine. With gross suspicion and blatant slander, with shrill sounds and untruthful contentions, they sounded a turning-point in the relations with the GDR. A turn for the good? No way! The whole load of long forgotten all-German dreams once again dropped upon the reality of the two Germanys. Once again they championed the enemy image and the Cold War.

For deliberately heating up the atmosphere they are using the death of a traveler on the border, which was completely investigated and settled by the GDR in an absolutely correct and extremely generous manner, as the competent FRG representatives themselves know and confirm. Seldom have people who cannot stop babbling about human rights if it applies to the socialist states misused a regrettable case of death this relentlessly for political purposes. And what is most serious is that influential politicians of the coalition and papers they are close to have been setting the tone for it.

A fear psychosis has been kindled, a whole box of old prejudices was opened while they were beating the big drums. Vilify the relations with the GDR is what the motto of the CSU came down to in these days. This was politics after the old pattern: Redirecting the disappointment and discontent within about further growing unemployment and welfare cutbacks against an external enemy. Instead of cautiously dealing with the relations between the two Germanys in a critical world political situation, they would talk tough and issue threats. An invitation for the SED Central Committee general secretary to visit the FRG became the object of unworthy guess work. Almost every day demands, in fact whole catalogues of demands, were being published, addressing the GDR-- a method in preparation of a summit meeting of politicians that already has miserably failed in the past, as it is absolutely incompatible with the principle of the respect for sovereignty, and actually even with the simplest rules for inter-state dealings.

As Bonn let things drift, the agitators had a heyday; they left it a shambles. They had forgotten that the GDR is not available as a scapegoat for enemies of detente, nor for squabbles within the coalition in Bonn. Let this be set down for once and for all.

Overseas influences also had a part in it. Back in fall of 1982, at a conference of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Bonn, an envoy from the Reagan crew called for a "thorough review" of the FRG's Ostpolitik after the federal elections in March 1983.

Now, when the consequences of this hostile and hateful campaign against the GDR have become apparent, Bonn seeks to salvage what it can. Chancellor Kohl has announced it simply was a matter of the freedom of the press, without taking a distance by as much of one word from the insolent, insulting and hostile attacks against the GDR and its representatives, which violate the spirit and letter of the Basic Treaty. All this apart from what that freedom of the press comes down to. Under its signature a mass paper like STERN is attempting right now to whitewash Hitler.

It is the state of affairs itself, however, which prohibits illusions to oneself and to the world. Flimsy excuses are not adequate to the seriousness of the situation. Bearing responsibility in either of the two Germanys requires living up to it. It had begun to be that way since 1969. No one should underestimate that. A return to the trenches of the Cold War would benefit no one.

Everyone knows by now that the campaign started and carried on by the media of the Springer corporation has been used as a pretext by the enemies of a

constructive Ostpolitik to achieve a long desired goal in FRG government circles: Destruction of the detente policy, the policy of understanding and good neighborly relations with the GDR. Did CSU chairman Strauss perhaps not say he wanted no continuity but a change in Ostpolitik? And is not he the one who, as the chairman of a government party, has declared verbally and in writing that what mattered now was to prepare the FRG population psychologically for the deployment of the new U.S. missiles? That connection cannot be ignored. Even FRG representatives themselves regret with concern the evil effects of the agitation campaign against the GDR among the FRG population. What they did to our players during and after the ice hockey game in Dortmund is alarming. That is where we were once before. And one must assume that was only the beginning. Terms proposing murder and manslaughter produced a climate of hatred which is meant to turn into a climate for missile deployment. Everyone knows who the supplier of such terms is.

Who determines policy guidelines in Bonn and which city they come from is certainly a matter of internal FRG affairs. But as a neighbor and treaty partner of the FRG, the GDR has a legitimate claim to knowing whether Bonn's policy is still dependable.

Our policy is dependable. In spite of the unpleasant events, the GDR remains interested in the development of normal GDR-FRG relations, and Chancellor Kohl has been informed of that. It attests to the foresight in its policy and its accountability. One must of course proceed here from the existing treaty system, which includes the GDR-FRG treaties, above all the Base Treaty. When one rocks a part of it one places thereby in doubt whether other parts of the treaty system will continue to function.

In close coordination with the Soviet Union and its other allies, the GDR's foreign policy is aimed at peace and cooperation. No threat to its western neighbors emanates from GDR soil. We always seek to settle any controversial problems by way of negotiation. All segments of our people are firmly committed to that course, which conforms with the UN Charter, the Final Act of Helsinki, the basic treaty, and the final communique of the Werbellinsee conference.

The GDR-FRG transit agreement likewise is part of the European treaty system and most closely relates to the Quadripartite Agreement of September 1971. The GDR as well as the FRG took an active hand in bringing it about. There is no doubt it has stood up well and contributed significantly to the relaxation of the situation in Central Europe. Above all, the treaty system has made the situation of West Berlin more secure, for the benefit of all sides, and especially for the good of the population of West Berlin. Thus one can understand that the spokesmen of all parties represented in the West Berlin assembly, of the CDU, the SPD, the FDP and the AL, condemned the shrill tones and tough words from Bavaria and pointed out that the policy of a "change" meant turning away from dialogue and reasonable economic relations and hurts West Berlin's interests.

With all the shortcomings that have come to the fore here and there in the course of time, travel and visits, and meanwhile also tourism, between the

GDR and the FRG have shown a positive development. After all, 6 to 7 million FRG citizens and inhabitants of West Berlin visit the GDR each year. In turn, between circa 1.5 and 2 million GDR citizens visit the FRG and West Berlin annually, with the proportion of travel for urgent family business and within the scope of tourism rising.

If one looks at the possibilities for communication between the GDR and the FRG and between the FRG and West Berlin, remarkable progress has also been made in conformity with the quid pro quo principle. Only think of the construction and extension of the speedways, telephone and postal communication, the higher custom-free imports to the GDR, and the extension to 0200 hours in one-day visits by West Berliners.

Altogether, considering its volume, transit between the FRG and West Berlin proceeds smoothly despite the frequent misuse of transit routes by professional racketeers and smugglers and criminal organizations. Imagine the GDR made a big deal about everything that is being done in violation of its interests! There would not be much left of any smooth transit traffic. Which means that less abuse of transit routes would further reduce the few remaining controls on grounds for suspicion.

GDR-FRG trade is going well too, and the FRG government knows it. It could become still more extensive if the FRG were to cut back its restrictions. Apart from the cooperation between large firms in both states, which has by now even spread to third markets, circa 6,000 small and medium-size FRG enterprises take part in it, and the GDR time and time again hears of desires to involve still more firms in it because of the crisis situation in the FRG. It all goes according to quid pro quo, which is known to all involved, and which is of course for the benefit of both sides. He who denies this either does not know how things are or he lies. According to the Basic Treaty and the Werbellinsee agreements, the trade between the two German states is to be encouraged. No surprise then that prominent FRG economic papers, such as HANDELSBLATT, have pointed out that the harassment from Bavaria could harm the framework for the FRG's foreign economy.

If there are blocks in the development of bilateral relations it is because there are a number of problems that could up to now not yet been settled and that have to be settled by way of negotiations. For one thing, there is the Elbe boundary problem. There is absolutely no compelling reason why the few kilometers of a river boundary cannot be agreed on in terms of international principles since all the problems concerning the land boundary have been settled. As far as it goes, a joint protocol has already been drawn up on it. And then there is the recognition of GDR citizenship, which is inalienable when it involves such important problems for people as traveling and visiting, legal aid and other matters. That pertains to the existence of the Salzgitter facility set up in violation of treaties and to the topic of converting the two states' legations into embassies. The GDR introduced these topics to the discussions and negotiations, not as maximum demands, as is sometimes claimed, but because on taking care of them many practical matters depend that touch the lives of people in both states.

Speculation with the GDR mark on the money market of the FRG and West Berlin has unfavorable effects. No one can deny that an exchange rate of one to four or one to five is not real but manipulated. And that misleads into smuggling with the GDR mark to the detriment of the GDR economy and the citizens in our country. As one knows, the export and import of the GDR mark to and from the nonsocialist region is prohibited. Thus far there are only spot checks, and it is not hard to understand that introducing thorough controls would considerably interfere with the transit and visitors' traffic. The GDR has refrained from doing that, nor does it intend to do it in the future. Not for the love of those who flex their muscles from time to time but on behalf of smooth visitors' traffic.

From it arises the necessity, however, to assure an approximately real exchange rate by setting down a minimum conversion rate. Such a minimum conversion rate, by the way, exists not only between the GDR and the FRG. Other states have established similar arrangements as well.

As to the sports and culture exchange, it is jeopardized by the roughing up of and incidents against the GDR representatives while in the FRG. The same is true of youth tourism and youth exchange. One should wish that Bonn would take that seriously enough.

All in all, the facts referred to indicate that favorable conditions have been created for the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG and the GDR and West Berlin by the implementation as to letter and spirit of the Basic Treaty and the other agreements. That is also true of the border situation which, as one must never forget, also is the border between the armed forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact. It is understood that the reduction of tension on the border, the settlement of problems, the implementation of one measure or another that had already begun after the Werbellinsee conference, are made difficult by the prevailing atmosphere of hostility, for which the GDR is not responsible.

The GDR abides by the treaty system concluded in its spirit and letters including the joint communique of Werbellinsee. If the FRG, despite the many assurances from the Chancellor, wants it different, it should say so.

The overriding problem is securing the peace, preventing nuclear war. That also was the tenor of the telephone call on 18 April between Helmut Kohl, FRG Chancellor, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, which was also pointed out by some papers in the FRG; it did not concern itself primarily with what had happened along the border. It mainly concerned the understanding that nothing could be more important right now than securing peace and that the two German states do have a special responsibility for it, which no one can take from them. They also then talked about the USSR proposals and the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states and about the need to bring the Madrid meeting to a positive conclusion.

All this is of all the greater consequence as the arms buildup and confrontation policy of the Reagan administration has conjured up the danger of nuclear war. They are talking in the United States of a winnable nuclear war and aim at gaining a first strike capacity by deploying new missile systems in Western Europe and thereby to alter the military-strategic equilibrium.

A war conducted with nuclear weapons would, however, be nothing but reciprocal suicide and cannot be justified by anything. Neither the FRG nor the GDR citizens would survive a first strike and a counter-strike. An obligation to peace, and renouncing the deployment of new U.S. missiles, and the freeing of Europe from nuclear weapons, therefore is patently necessary. The GDR fully endorses the relevant account by Yuri Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU, in a recent interview with an FRG magazine and the reply he gave to U.S. scientists.

It is not the aim of the GDR to loosen the FRG's footing in the NATO alliance. One should, however, not forget in Bonn either that the GDR is equally solidly anchored within its alliance. The deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles, Pershing II and cruise missiles, would therefore in no way contribute to establishing normal, let alone good neighborly, relations with the GDR. The contrary would be the case.

In drawing a balance-sheet on the development of GDR-FRG relations since 1971, one finds the result certainly impressive, especially if one takes into account all the resistance that had to be overcome. Much then is at stake if a change under the auspices of hostility against the GDR is now being promoted. It is an unsuitable recipe for documenting treaty loyalty while at the same time insisting on conditions and reservations aimed against the substance, and against the spirit and letter, of the Basic Treaty. In all the deliberations in Bonn and all questions up for decision, no one should lose sight of that the GDR cannot be blackmailed. Any attempt of this sort would be of disadvantage, not only for the GDR but also for the FRG and, not last, for West Berlin, which, as one knows, is not part of the FRG and may not be governed by it. The GDR is a sovereign socialist state, firmly rooted in the eastern alliance. It finds a leeway wherever it is a matter of serving peace and fostering the cooperation among the states.

The GDR's stance is marked by continuity, steadiness and reliability. We always have had the same basic conception and are going to stick with it. On the basis of treaties concluded we will and shall work, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, for securing the peace in Europe and for the development of good relations between the two German states. That is in the interest of the people in the GDR and the FRG. This is simultaneously an important contribution to the well-being of all peoples who want no confrontation policy, least of all here on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is a matter of preventing a nuclear inferno, a matter of disarmament in east and west in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, a matter of permanent peace. In other words: This amounts to the right men have to pursue their work peacefully and be assured of a good future for their children and children's children.

5885

CSO: 2300/236

ANTITANK ROCKET TRAINING VEHICLE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1983 (signed to press 12 Nov 82)  
p 17

['Education and Training' feature article by Major O. Bode, engineer: "Trainer for Firing Antitank Guided Missiles"]

[Text] The STO Training Vehicle was developed for the training of helicopter crews, especially of operators, in firing of antitank guided missiles (PALR).

1. Concept of the Training Vehicle

Two considerations were paramount in determining the training principle: for one thing, the training process should be as realistic as possible and on the other hand it should be under as objective and comprehensive a control as possible. Comparison of all the parameters, even with flying simulators, led to the following conclusion: the optimum combination for a realistic training process is a helicopter in the air and mobile electronic instrumentation on the ground. In this way, the aircrew can start attacking the target under realistic conditions and finish by simulating; i.e., the operator does not launch a missile.

An exchange of information with our Soviet brothers in arms about the use of a similar PALR training vehicle showed that the above solution is feasible.

The STO training vehicle contains electronic instrumentation which is stowed in modules aboard a ZIL 131 basic vehicle. It serves as a moving or stationary target for the approaching helicopter. The electronic equipment of the vehicle module permits recording the targeting action in the desired sequence. Since all actions of the helicopter crew are identical with those required for actual PALR firing, the recorded data can be used also for an objective evaluation of the training proficiency.

Beyond the use described above, the STO can also be used for a qualitative complex evaluation of the functional capability of the helicopter-borne PALR firing installation. Depending on the situation, this often results in a significant time saving compared with the use of conventional separate measuring devices.

## 2. Experiences from the Construction of the STO Trainer

To design and construct the STO, a group of experienced engineers and pilots was assembled which fully familiarized itself with the tactical and technical details of the combat helicopter's armament, studied the experiences of our Soviet brothers in arms and developed a feasibility study. After a period of intensive effort, this resulted in a design study.

It was based on two conclusions reached in the feasibility study. The first requirement was to make a thorough analysis of the subjective and technological components of the initial situation. Secondly, the training concept had to be established and a technical solution found which would permit automatic operation of the training vehicle by the helicopter crew.

During the construction and assembly of the STO the technical concept was rigidly observed and close liaison was maintained with the future users. As a result of these joint efforts, an efficient training vehicle for simulated PALR firing from helicopters was developed. A training vehicle was successfully developed which can be used under any given conditions for realistic target distances of a helicopter.

Upon the simulated launch of the rocket, the evaluation device starts up automatically. The guidance commands to the simulated missile are received and recorded by a modified type ALS 201 printer. The timing of the proposed flight of the antitank guided missile, the operation of the communication devices between the training vehicle and the helicopter equipment as well as the input of special situations are directed from a console mounted inside the STO. This console contains many microelectronic components manufactured in the GDR. The helicopter crew recognizes the instant the simulated missile hits, i.e., successful target elimination, by a flash of a halogen spotlight.

For the simulated missile deviations of the crosshairs from the center of the target can be recognized from the guidance commands and can be shown on paper by the printer for purposes of objective control. A matrix of normal values is superimposed upon the tracing for purposes of evaluation.

Along with various evaluation criteria, a picture of the impact can also be obtained and immediately transmitted to the helicopter crew by signal lamps or a signal board installed in the training vehicle. It can also be transmitted to the helicopter pilot via a two-way radio communication system.

If the crew works with the STO, then PALR firing can be practiced as many times as desired without the need for intermediate touchdowns by the helicopter.

## 3. Prospects

Experience to date with the use of the STO training vehicle has served to confirm the validity of the technical and training concepts. The recorded command signals for the missile permit an unequivocal evaluation of the firing procedure and give positive local information on the hit.



Using the training vehicle has further resulted in indications for additional applications. There is for instance an opportunity for using another means of quantifying the helicopter system (helicopter pilot, operator) - training vehicle (on-board installation).

Possibilities for post-mission use are inherent in the training principle; detailed analysis is necessary in every case. Installation of the training vehicle equipment into other types of targets (armored personnel carriers, infantry tanks) is entirely feasible.



9273  
CSO: 2300/167

## SEARCH FOR NATIONAL SELF IDENTITY EXAMINED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 18 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by Peter Hanak: "Tracing National Identity"/

[Text] About the origins and specific substance of national consciousness even a foreigner, an outside observer, might say something meaningful. Yet even with a refined ability of perception it is rather difficult to grasp what is rationally understandable and to hear what the shepherd-pipe of old superstitions tells the people about the people. But it is hardly easier to approach the origins and specific fabric of national consciousness from within, from the angle of a member of the national community. Great erudition and a determination to be objective are no guarantees that we can keep our searching mind free from innate evidences and that we can turn a deaf ear to the shepherd-pipe voice of old superstitions. We need perhaps more than objectivity and professional knowledge of the topic: we must have courage to face our own destiny in order to approach successfully this theme and to say something scientifically valid about our national consciousness. I may mention as an example of a courageous and comprehensive analysis Janos Varga's recent book "Helyet kereso Magyarorszag" /Hungary in Search of Its Place/ concerning the political ideas of the 1940s and the genesis of Hungarian civic national consciousness.

Hungarian nationalism and the concept of nation--using Varga's definition of nationalism that in its original meaning was exempt of the prejudices which later stuck to it--was much more a product of the French REvolution than that of German romanticism. It was born under the aegis of liberty and equality. In this concept liberty was not a heroic tradition of the past but an economic and political program for the future. The Hungarian landowning nobility, unlike the clerical and professional elites of some neighboring nations, defined very accurately and concretely the economic and political characteristics of liberty. Kolcsey summed up the collective interests which link us with the homeland in two words: "liberty and property." Deak added to this: "civic property and personal liberty." Kossuth's alternative was: "free land and free man." This program entitled the abolition of the feudal ownership and privilege system, equality before the law, general taxation and a new interpretation of the concept nation. Kossuth defined this as "unity in rights and liberties rather than servitude." This definition enshrined the idea of sovereignty of the civic nation that includes the masses.

In this concrete historic context the abolition of feudal privileges and servitudes was in accord with the ideas of equality and nation building. Social reform and national unity were not antagonistic but mutually supportive ideas. In fact however, the harmony between liberty, equality and nationality was even during the shiny decades of the reform period far from being undisturbed. The deep-seated contradictions in principle were analyzed a decade later, after the revolution by Eotvos in one of the fundamental works of Hungarian political sciences. Some concrete contradictions, specific Hungarian problems in their nature, emerged already in the 1840s. In our country it was the nobility, this privileged caste, that had to preempt its own dominance by establishing civic equality before the law. One of the essential findings in Janos Varga's book is that Hungarian national consciousness was born and nursed under very complex social and political circumstances involving contradictory and sometimes even mutually exclusive conditions. The liberal reformers were aware of the problems and disturbing factors but believed in the omnipotence of enlightened rationality and relied on certain probabilities and illusions.

The intrinsic contradiction that the Hungarian nation was not built "from below" by a revolutionary gesture of the third estate elevating itself to the category of nation, but it was imposed "from above," seemed to be reconcilable on the ground of liberalism. Free land, free business and civic rights would have indeed raised the bulk of the peasantry into the middle class, making it a responsible sector of the national community, if the nobility had continued to actively participate in the liberal evolution. Less likely seemed to be a similar integration with peoples of different ethnic and linguistic identity. Actually the reform generation was deeply worried about the possibility that the non-Hungarian nationalities of the country by becoming free and equal might become majority and might then demand national independence. The liberals nursed in this respect two illusions.. They tried to convince themselves and the world that there was only one historically evolved nation in the country which is its lawful possessor and this is the Hungarian nation, and that the others were only linguistic communities without national character and consciousness. On the other hand they believed that personal freedom rights will give birth to a community of shared interests among the citizens of the country no matter what language they spoke, and that freedom will be stronger than national consciousness. While they expected this to occur they were not very confident that their hopes will materialize.

Statistical data and the fact of the growing consciousness of the nationalities were speaking for themselves. The majority of the middle class, above all its dynamic artisan and merchant members were Germans or Jews, a large sector of the nine million peasant-serfs were Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Germans. It was easy to draw the consequence from these figures, i.e. that in case of a free property system and equality before the law the Hungarian national community will lose strength and Slavs and Romanians will become the majority. The Hungarian liberal reformers were faced with a dilemma. Progress, modernization and urbanization were the commands of the era. Without such developments the country long tormented by feudal privileges and Vienna's absolutism would

have irreparably sunken into backwardness and ruin. But the other command of the era was the nursing of national consciousness and the political reorganization of the nations--"this is the leading ideal of our century and a nation that does not understand this will be absorbed and will fall into servitude"--said Kossuth.

Thus the era subjected the reform generation to a double predicament: if it modernizes on the basis of the purest liberal principles, then the Hungarian nationality will suffer, but if it abandons the liberal program and progress the nation will perish as a consequence. The Hungarian reformers deserve credit for the fact that they did not give up the liberal principles and program in order to solve this historic dilemma, but tried to work out a compromise between the requirements of liberty and nationality. They sought a solution through the "Hungarization" of public life and the gradual assimilation of the nationalities by their Hungarian-language schooling and acculturation. The prime task was to assimilate the cultured "middle estate." For according to Kossuth it is superfluous to argue that the new middle class "must be Hungarian and nothing else."

If we acknowledge the merit of the reform generation that--against the stubborn resistance of the conservative circles and the unlawful selfishness of the nationalists--it insisted upon its broadly based liberal program, then we also have to extol Janos Varga's incisiveness. For the dynamic constructive and modernizing trend of Hungarian nationalism did not make him blind to its drawbacks, notably its imperialist and oppressive velleities. Yet he could have presented excuses, perhaps even explanations, by the dozen: concern for the nation, oppression by the Monarchy, jeopardy to the national existence in the East-Central European area, conquests by other contemporary nations, or even some examples from the 20th century, i.e. the no less discouraging practices of current nationality policies. Yet Varga demonstrates with hard facts that Hungarian nationalism, though fighting for human freedom rights violated them by curbing the linguistic cultural activities of the nationalities, and while it conceived the process of nation building as a historic command for itself it failed to recognize and accept its consubstantiality in the case of the non-Hungarian nationalities.

The result--instead of the "expected" embrace in adopting Hungarian ways and in sharing patriotism for Hungary--was that the non-Hungarian nationalities hardened in their struggle against oppression grew into nations and their nascent national consciousness took an anti-Hungarian edge. Instead of strength and unity factionalism, fratricide struggle and the condemnation of the nationality policy of the Hungarian leading class at world forums followed. Although the nationalism of the peoples living together in old Hungary was incited and escalated in a chain reaction of cross-fertilizations, Hungarians bear nevertheless the greatest responsibility, notes Janos Varga, despite the fact that "they were cast in the role of initiator and aggressor by historic destiny and the objective situation."

"But should we blame everything on nationalism? Was it only the fresh romantic nationalism that blinded the cultured, ethically healthy and

and thoughtful reformers with a European vision, from Kolcsey and Wesselenyi to Kossuth, Deak and Eotvos. Were they so blind that they did not realize that their impatience and exaggerated national aspirations violated rights of others'?...Or were they impulsed by national prejudice and thirst for power alone as their enemies had claimed?"--asks Janos Varga.

With this question we, outside observers, transcend our own way of approach and bypass the judgment of posterity which claims the wisdom of hindsight. We criticize the liberal reformers but we do this from "within" since we fully understand their mentality and the motive force behind their behavior. We clearly demonstrate that their plans were inspired and their actions propelled by fear and concern rather than exaggerated cocksureness, conceitedness and boundless lust for power. The birth of Hungarian national consciousness was overshadowed by anxiety lurking behind the winged genius of freedom.

The liberal reformers knew the miserable situation of their country, the dissensions within its society, the conservative mentality of the majority of nobles, and the dependence of the aristocrats on the government and the minor nobility on the magnates. And when Metternich started to operate with minuscule reforms and divisive tactics toward the nationalities of the Monarchy, the Hungarian reformers were rightly concerned that absolutism will be able to align itself with the peasants who trusted the Emperor, the Croats of the associate countries and the Servs and Romanians of the border areas. The modernization of the Habsburg empire under an absolutist regime raised in them--and not without reason--the spectre of their country sinking into the status of a colony and their national identity withering away.

These fears have certainly moderated the radicalism of the best of them. No matter how many faults and sins the nobility has--wrote Wesselenyi--the nation lives in it and relies on it. Thus caution should be the rule: "nursing national consciousness in the nobility and sparing it in order to save national identity." This concern justifies the dilemma of whether or not the nobility should be transformed into a bourgeoisie. For if its transformation wipes out its national consciousness and destroys it then--the liberal leaders thought--all is lost. Therefore they did not confine themselves to converting the nobility into bourgeoisie in a political and ideological sense alone but they stimulated its land-owner and intellectual members to modernize their ways of production, to start business undertakings and to participate in commercial, industrial and transportation enterprises, in other words to change the nobility's character into a genuine bourgeoisie. Yet the gentry was used to rule over its domestics and to be served by them, and had an innate aversion to market competition, business operations and catering to commoners. In a gentleman's reflex nursed by centuries of feudalism the nobles at once wondered: is business compatible with the Hungarian? We can express this also in this way: is the gallantry of the nobility compatible with bourgeois ethics?

The intrinsic contradictions of liberalism and nationalism, the problems of Hungary's dependent status within the Monarchy, the worries about the

nobility's transformation into bourgeoisie and the attractive but nevertheless forbidding dilemma of such transmutation would have probably been easier to solve in an independent country in possession of its national selfdetermination. Independence was of course the supreme aspiration of the reform generation and was also backed by rational arguments. In the 1840s the conditions of constitutional independence were set in the form of such timely institutions as representative parliament and responsible government, and the country's material and human resources were put under national control, all this within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Why did the reformers not strive toward complete independence and if they did why did they not say so? Janos Varga in his incisive analysis points accurately at the most sensitive neuralgic point, i.e. the awareness of the international situation and the sense of peril flowing from it.

Hungarian patriots concerned about the destiny of their homeland became aware of the changes in the Central-and East-European balance of forces during the Napoleonic wars. In the 1830s, after the defeat of the French July revolution and the Italian and Polish freedom fights, and the creation of the German Zollunion, they became acutely aware of the Eastern aspirations of German nationalism and the persistent expansion of Russian Tsarism, the latter entailing the danger of Pan-Slavism. If they had not watched these processes, they would have been anyway alerted by Herder's grim prophecy about the dissolving of Hungarian identity in the Slavic masses. Or they could have read a pamphlet by Wolfgang Berg, published in 1842 (*Ungarns politische Zukunft*) which claimed to foresee that "The blood-stained and corpse-covered soil of Hungary will become either a Russian or a German colony." The liberals sensed indeed the growing danger--to quote an article in the *PESTI HIRLAP*--"Hungarians will either be numbed by the inclement Eastern winds or dissolved in the mild breezes blowing from the West."

In the given situation it was dangerous to pursue a national reform policy. "Fear penetrated the bones of the liberals--Janos Varga writes in the dramatic vein of that epoch--they felt themselves and the nation encircled from within and from the outside. They tried to find the way out from the embrace in which they believed that they were kept." Their life-instinct advised them to cut the ties of their country's Slav nationalities with their great patron the Russian Tsar and to assimilate them to the Hungarian nation. Thus the motive behind their assimilation attempts was in part self-defense resulting from the sense of danger, even if this was not justified either by the ideology of freedom nor warranted by the actual circumstances. But that the danger was real and imminent was proved in blood and iron by the Tsarist intervention in Hungary in 1849 and the crushing of the Polish freedom fight 15 years later.

What kind of realistic way of defense was at hand against the reaction, absolutism, conquest and annexation threatening from within and from the outside? No matter how unsafe, uncomfortable and little liked the support of the Monarchy was, there was no other realistic answer to bourgeois Hungary's search for its place. Janos Varga, penetrating into the minds and the hearts of the liberals finds that they considered independence as the

ideal framework of national development, but they became ever more aware of the fact that Hungarians submerged by the Slav sea, located in the sphere of interests of German nationalism and at the point of impact of these two great forces could not obtain and preserve their independence alone and if they did it would be so limited that it would rather be like a shadow autonomy.

This Petur bun's bitter words, the pledges made by Zrinyi and Rakoczi, the tombs and grievances carefully nursed in memory seemed to have been all for nothing; the nation's rational interests advocated membership in the Monarchy as a compromise for the basis of nationhood and relative independence. "Not so gentlemen"...--Kossuth retored to the ominous German prophets--"there is a third status between two powerful peoples--tribes." By this he meant independence within the Monarchy and when he did not mean it so, history's hard answer was that "West European middle class development" respects power balance and power interests more than constitutionalism and national rights.

It was not a rich and strong bourgeoisie that shaped Hungarian national consciousness through revolutionary struggle for independence in an ethnically relatively homogeneous homeland, but it was the nobility immersed in an internal struggle with its own dilemma of whether or not to become a bourgeoisie. It achieved this in the bumper zone of rival ambitions, at the border dividing East from West, in this ethnically excessively mixed region where the factors of self-defense and self-indulgence were inextricably entangled. Freedom and equality were the parents of young nationalism which loved and feared its ascendants since it was concerned about the subsistence of its own *raison d'etre*, i.e. nationality.

As all nationalisms, the Hungaria also strived toward complete sovereignty but was also afraid of it; since the basic purpose, independence seemed to be in jeopardy, What a consuming agony: to stake the program of an epochal renaissance and a generation's life on the chances of the nation's semi-sovereignty. The intrinsic contradictions, fears, and troubles of the Hungarian national consciousness cannot be blamed on Dualism or the "Ausgleich" (the compromise of 1867). They were innate and present at the origins. In order to life these confusions of the consciousness--Janos Varga suggests--we should go back with a disciplined and incisive analysis to the very beginning, to that turning point at which the nation has been again in search for its place between East and West, in an ethnically entangled region, in a changing world.

12312

CSO: 2500/232

VIEWS ON METHODS OF OPPOSING PARTY 'ENEMIES' EXCHANGED

Dogmatism, Sectarianism Decried

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 10, 9 Mar 83 [page nos. unavailable]

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "On the Opposition and our own Mistakes"]

[Excerpts] I sat through a conference devoted to "experiences in the struggle against antisocialist and counterrevolutionary opposition in the process of building socialism." What I heard at this conference shows that this experience, accumulated through people's experiences and knowledge, is interpreted in different ways.

I have my own opinion on this subject and I tried to confront it with what was said. On several points, my assessment of this experience was slightly different, above all less black-and-white, than those presented in some papers. This must have been due to my demur at people who never have any doubts, to whom everything is simple and clear: "Here we stand, there they stand, and whoever is not with us is an enemy; we would have lived in advanced socialism, if not in communism, were it not for those evil-doers and their scheming."

Our experience in combatting opposition has been gathered for years, and certainly suffices to compile a good handbook of what should not be done. During all the years of socialist Poland we have accumulated this wisdom, often by paying the price of errors, a cost too high and one-sided. By now we know it was not necessary to learn everything anew. It would have been enough if we had relied on experiences of the international workers' movement and drawn conclusions from mistakes others had committed. We are all wise afterwards. So be it, provided we are wise indeed! Mistakes are unavoidable, but he who repeats the same mistakes loses most.

To avoid misunderstandings, let me make clear that I agree that counter-revolution must be opposed. True, in extreme situations, when the enemy reached for power, there were no doubts that organized opposition had to be crushed with all means the socialist state had at its disposal. So, whenever word exchanges turned into fire exchanges, it was "Comrade Mauser [German repeating-type rifle] who took the floor."



But, under normal circumstances of political--and even more so ideological--struggle, the enemy is not won over by force. So, when we had to engage in more flexible struggle, then, overconfident in ourselves, we made many mistakes, which exposed our weaknesses. Let us frankly admit this experience as well. Let us learn from our own weaknesses, if we cannot learn our lesson otherwise.

Victory is hard to win while staying in the same place, deep in trenches.

There were times when intransigence, suspiciousness, mistrust and watchfulness for enemies became unhealthy, even downright suicidal. Instead of integrating people around one's own idea, winning allies to the workers' cause, we exposed everything that could divide and irritate, rending open still unhealed wounds. As in the Middle Ages, when everything bad and unknown was attributed to evil forces, to Satan, we detected representatives of the hostile class everywhere. The Colorado beetle [spread over Polish fields by U.S. aircraft, according to official propaganda in the 1950's] and Coca-Cola [a symbol of U.S. imperialism] suffice to illustrate this. Even when the enemy had no chance or anything left to say, the struggle psychosis compelled us to continue frightening people with inimical forces.

Bullied party members had equally little say. The effects of this, and their irreversibility, are also part of our experience.

It was then we learned that not every opposition is political, or hostile. It is no use to squeeze all critically-minded people into a category of enemies. "Opposition" arising from justified protests against our mistakes should facilitate self-criticism and help us improve our performance. We should appreciate such oppositionists more than opportunistic allies.

At that sad time (later, too), we virtually forced many people, especially intellectuals, into opposition. That some proved their ideological unsteadiness or actual hostility is no consolation. Up to now we have been abusing labels such as "socialist" or "antisocialist." Should we not rather have said something was right or wrong, wise or stupid, scientific or unscientific, true or false, etc.?

Let us adhere to the position upon which the prime minister expounded at the Sejm on 10 October 1982. It is as follows:

"It is not in the interest of society to hush up authentic political divisions, nor to come up with hasty and untimely labels. We do not regard as oppositionists people who have gone astray, who are confused or simply duped. There are still many such people."

Another kind of knowledge comes from years of political light-heartedness, from a time when we felt so strong and affluent that we did not bother about any political and ideological opposition. We effectively stifled any serious discussions in the name of the nation's moral and political unity.

Intoxicated by success, we left no room for sober thinking. While we hushed up murmurs in our own ranks, enemies capitalized on protests against our mistakes. In accordance with the adopted and practiced rule that what is unnamed does not exist, we gradually enervated the party and shook off elementary defense reflexes. Our national existence was all but jeopardized by [the party's] gullibility with regard to the world outside it, and by overconfidence in handling its internal matters. This is also an experience.

All this takes place while we are holding a perfect weapon, a weapon which gives us a clear edge in confrontation with the enemy. Can we handle this weapon? Facts show that we cannot, and he who does not know how to handle his own weapon had better not enter a duel.

The entire ideological sense of the "Communist Manifesto" can be grasped in one sentence--a workers' party has a duty steadily to guard the interests of its own class against other classes and social strata, both on national and international scale.

It was always ideological mistakes that weakened us most and left us defenseless against the enemy. The party suffered its greatest losses whenever it forgot who it was to lead and in whose interest it performs the leading role, when it detached ideology from realities of life.

One great weakness of the party's ideological work so far has been that it ignores realities, theorizes, treats ideological activity as a missionary action, moralizes, preaches revealed truths, ideals and values; this is beautiful and sublime, but is as remote from actual life as sky from earth. The enemy has for years been scoring points for saying precisely this.

All the enemy has to do is to compare what we say with what we (very imperfectly) do.

Most recent experiences are particularly telling here. The past two years have provided enough material for a whole encyclopedia.

Once more it showed that the enemy's strength grows with our weaknesses--in economics, politics and ideology.

Piling economic difficulties on top of failures gives the enemy a chance. He grabs weapons from the revolutionary arsenal, calls for strikes, exerting pressure at the grassroots level, and aspires to establish a diarchy. Enemies rally round anything that irritates people. They cloak their meager programs with social and national demagoguery, flaunting slogans from our own banners.

Most articulate of all in their self-presentation were the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the clandestine Polish National Convention [PPN].

Groups like the Christian-Democratic Union of the Polish Republic and the Independent Lay Catholic Movement had some programs. The Committee for Social

Self-Defense/Committee for Defense of Workers [KSS-KOR] never came up with a clear program.

Now and then it set for itself particular tasks, depending on circumstances and degree of social dissatisfaction. What the remaining 40-odd opposition groups presented can hardly be described as programs, for with this sort of rubbish they had little chance to act in a concrete and organized way even under favorable circumstances.

Remarkably, openly anticommunist and anti-Soviet rhetoric was used by KPN and PPN only. Their manifestos invoked vague ideas of a regime of social justice and tolerance of different views, as well as basic values, most popular and attractive to Polish society. In this sense, they were trying to capitalize on certain controversial entries in the party's records.

Below are the basic points on which they concentrated, and on the solution to which they staked their existence and activities:

- a) sovereignty and independence with a strong patriotic and nationalist bias. This, in fact, comprised a whole gamut of views, from recognition of Polish alliances based on partnership to fierce anti-Sovietism;
- b) changing social relations and forms of political government;
- c) changing ownership relations and economic management rules (various detailed solutions). Many groups disregarded these problems;
- d) attitudes toward the state and forms of its organization were not given explicit expression;
- e) readiness to cooperate with other organizations, including Solidarity. Almost all groups firmly rejected the National Unity Front [FJN] and treated critically, or plainly ignored, the party; and
- f) blaming the previous bureaucracy of state affairs, existing structures and the whole political system, specifically the party, for the crisis.

A perusal of opposition groups' programs clearly discloses the enemy's theoretical emptiness.

Each such "neoparty" exposed deformations, but drew up programs for overcoming the crisis only from the opposition angle, which always made them negatively oriented.

Let bygones be bygones, now it all belongs to the past. [Court] sentences will obviously not solve the problem of political struggle.

We need a tactic for struggle adequate to the new situation; we can no longer use force or repressive measures.

Enemies put out humane and democratic slogans; in the name of liberty, justice, human and constitutional rights they claim to defend the wronged and exploited. They have been canvassing for support from the Church. They have been conducting their own propaganda activities with considerable aid from Western centers and sympathy from many former Solidarity activists. They capitalize on social demagoguery, religious and patriotic feelings, and prey on anti-Sovietism and other political stereotypes, particularly those which exist among young people. We must realize that the opposition today is primarily intellectual in character, and it should be fought above all in the intellectual sphere. But it is precisely in this sphere that our performance is still poor.

There was enough time for reflection. Everybody had a chance--enemies, to come to their senses, we, to consider our mistakes. What should result from these considerations? Let us look back. Three different approaches can be distinguished in the party's attitude toward political opposition and its own errors.

First, it is taken for granted that enemies, as roots of all evil, must by all means be silenced. Were it not for the enemy, everything would be simple and feasible.

Next, opposition activity is viewed as a plague, as the vagaries of lunatics who are better left alone. In this approach, the consequences of our own mistakes are ignored or hushed up, while successes are loudly publicized, according to the rule that it is all right with us, because we could have been come-off worse.

A third approach is to treat opposition realistically, that is, as followers of different ideological orientations, who are guided by different interests, adhere to different beliefs, and profess to different values and patterns. This approach implies that having enemies is a natural and normal thing rather than a shame. The only question is: What is the appropriate policy for putting them out of action? I do not mean putting them out of action in the military sense. Military rules are acceptable but only as a last resort. Experience shows that not even elimination of antagonists can safeguard political victory, let alone bring success, in ideological struggle. Truths, theories and catchwords remain, and may later be personified by a new "hero." To fight opponents this way is merely touching the tip of the iceberg.

In politics, putting someone out of action means depriving one of his social base, prevailing in the heat of criticism and in a confrontation of arguments and reasons.

Few things can as effectively reinforce and improve party ranks as such a contest.

Indeed, the only way to convince others and to win over adherents is by struggling not "against" opponents, but "for" their followers. Let us not bother about enemies, it is no use trying to convert Kuron or Moczulski, for that would mean self-denial to them.

Enemies must be politically incapacitated, and their hidden intentions must become unmasked and defeated by force or logic.

This is how Lenin floored the "empirio-critics." This, too, is how he defeated Kautsky, by writing "The State and Revolution." One of Lenin's most outstanding works, "What Should Be Done?" would have never been written had it not been for the "economists" and their views of the workers' question. To be sure, if they violate binding laws, and attack from the underground, then polemics, disputations or warding off invectives will no longer suffice. There are special services who combat antistate activities as their constitutional duty.

Isolating or administratively ousting hostile theories is no proper method for scientific socialism. [Italian communist writer] Antonio Gramsci states it as follows:

"In their ideological struggle, communists prevail over the enemy when they are able to stand up against even the most outstanding representatives of alien tendencies and when they provide better solutions to problems posed by the enemy, or when they irrefutably prove that these are but artificial problems."

Toward every theory communists should assume the attitude suggested by Marx and Lenin, namely that we must master the enemy's method perfectly. This can only be achieved through polemics. To disarm antagonists theoretically, one must be able to solve correctly the problems they pose. Then there will be less trouble with antisocialist forces, and false ideologies will not mislead people.

To conclude, I wish to say something perverse. Since we are talking about political opponents, I suggest that we not disregard the present party leadership's political enemies inside the party itself. There are such people, too. Their case is obviously not one of a simple difference in opinions, because what is involved are facts that must be condemned for the sake of internal party discipline.

Populist demagogy as well as any demagogic arguments coming from party ranks must also be combatted intellectually. But, admittedly, sometimes personnel decisions have to be made, especially when people are from the old bureaucratic apparatus, or people trying to shout down their own consciences, are involved.

The rule, "Who's not against us is with us," does not apply to party ranks. Critical thinking is a statutory duty--thinking, and joint action. It is a thinking, but not anarchizing, party that has authority. Anybody who does not actively support the 9th Congress line, the party leadership's line, is against us--whether or not he wants to be.

## Kwiatkowski Article Rebutted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Tadeusz Wrebiak: "On the Opposition and our own Mistakes (Additional Notes on the Article in TU I TERAZ)"]

[Text] The day is approaching when the Central Committee Plenum is supposed to take place, which will be devoted to ideological problems. Thus I read with interest all articles discussing these problems. Among such articles I include the one by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski published in TU I TERAZ (No 10) entitled "On the Opposition and our own Mistakes."

In that publication, among other things, the author correctly argued that the enemies of socialism are growing stronger together with our errors--of an economic, political and ideological nature. And not without reason, he persuades those not yet persuaded that the battle with the political opposition cannot be won effectively if it is limited only to administrative actions, forgetting that neutralization in politics means above all the loss of the social base, public support. And this will not be achieved, as is known, without a confrontation of views and arguments, without achieving substantial superiority in that confrontation.

The problems raised by Kwiatkowski are very timely. They deserve sympathetic consideration. Along with this, I also believe that that article is worthy of sympathetic if only polemical attention vis-a-vis those questions which seem a bit too arguable to me. Among them I include those matters considered in the final part of the article. In discussing them, the author writes that he is considering "something perverse." I do not know if the perversity in this specific case can be treated seriously, but Kwiatkowski is exceptionally persistent in this perversity. His conclusion is unequivocal: our own errors in the battle with the opposition are based solely on dogmatic thinking and the sectarian method of conducting this battle.

He is also consistent in his perversity when in conclusion he writes: "Since we are talking about political opponents, I suggest that we do not disregard the present party leadership's political enemies inside the party itself." Immediately after this he adds that these words apply to dogmatically-thinking party members from the "old bureaucratic apparatus" who--according to him--sow "populist demagogy" because "they want to shout down the qualms of their own consciences."

I do not desire in the least to belittle the substantiality of the author's observations. I myself could also throw in here a couple of examples to his observations if it were not for a certain "but"; if it were not for the direction of the author's suggestions, which in this specific case appear to me to be too one-sided in its selectivity and thus faulty in its assumptions. In indicating the harmfulness of dogmatic tendencies in the life of the party, he remains silent on the harmfulness of another tendency,

which is no less dangerous than the first one, namely the liberal-liquidation tendency. And of course its representatives have caused irreparable harm in their propaganda and in the battle with the opposition not only in the past but even today.

Therefore I will not throw in my couple of examples to the accusations put forth by the author of the article against the dogmatists, but I will save them for later. Instead, I suggest Kwiatkowski write a sequel to "On the Opposition and our own Mistakes" to complete the picture. And if he lacks persuasive examples for his article of the harm caused to the party by the representatives of the liberal-liquidation lobby, then I am also prepared to hold a private talk with him to provide such examples.

In conclusion here are two opinions to think about. I do not think Kwiatkowski will think ill of me that I decided to publish my thoughts in TRYBUNA LUDU and not in TU I TERAZ. I did this because I am accustomed to discussing party matters in party publications above all. But I see nothing wrong or contrary in this since these matters are also discussed in newspapers and periodicals that are not party organs. Our party is the leading force in the socialist transformation of our country. Thus there cannot be any party affair that is not also a public affair, that is of interest to all the country's citizens.

Reply by Kwiatkowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: "On the Opposition of T. Wrebiak Regarding our own Errors"]

[Text] Tadeusz Wrebiak wrote a criticism in TRYBUNA LUDU, No 64 (17 Mar 83), of my article "On the Opposition and our own Mistakes" which was published in TU I TERAZ. The veteran politician kind of praised me, but he does not deny that he felt offended, and as many as three times at that.

He is offended mainly because I find fault, as he states, with exceptional consistency with the dogmatists and sectarians.

In addition, he thinks poorly of me because I did not write about the liberal-liquidation lobby in my article, and I should have.

Finally, he admonishes that it is shameful to air party affairs outside party publications.

Before I explain this, it should be remembered that in this manner the whole supposedly evaluation of my article was based on what it did not cover. But it did not cover many other things also. This ridicules and trivializes its essential content, the essence of the argument. All the more so since we look at things differently. His view, though squinted, is being expounded more and more often. I am interested in resolving problems; he is interested in thrashing the opposition. It is the viewpoint of an ideological "gendarme" who is not concerned with combatting the opposition but rather with cleaning up his own ranks: he halts, he verifies, he interrogates.

Now, to return to my article. Its main thesis is: All our experiences in combatting the political opposition is experience of combat "based on force," through negation. But times have changed so that with the abolishment of martial law, it will be necessary to combat opponents differently, more intelligently, more or less just as our more outstanding opponents combat communists.

Why differently? Because today the opposition is basically of an intellectual nature, and it is in this field that the battle should be waged above all. "Basically" and "above all" does not at all mean that the underground does not exist, and that this battle concerns only a war of words. The law must be respected, and the competent services and departments should take care of those who break the law. But the political and especially the ideological battle is not won administratively.

My adversary selects those things in my article that bother him, although he writes that he does not intend in the least to belittle the substantiality of my polemic with the representatives of the old bureaucratic apparatus who want to shout down the qualms of their own consciences with populist demagoguery. He is even prepared to add his own observations. (My goodness, there would certainly be something to tell.) He admits I am right; however, there is a "but." He says the article is "too one-sided in its selectivity and thus faulty in its assumptions." I believe he read what he wanted to read and something nettled him.

Wrebiak wants to assume the role of an ideological correcter, the only thing is that something is too flashy. For example, he needles me that my writing about the relationship to the opposition is the conviction of those not yet convinced. We are not at all of one mind as my adversary thinks. I believe that the opposition has always been around and probably will be around in the future. Do we have to convert them? That does not make sense. I have always said that to have opponents is not shameful; it is normal. He seeks ways to push them to the public sidelines, to take "care of them;" just like terrorism in the West, no significant social group supports it. In my opinion, we should struggle not so much "against" the opponent as we should "for" his and our potential partisans to deprive him of his social base, of a following, to sever his influence over working people.

I am alarmed at how we limit our field of vision because we are hypnotically transfixed with the opponent. Recently I read a draft of a paper evaluating the political situation and forecasting what will occur in the coming months. This reading shows that the authors' total attention is focused on the opposition, on Solidarity--just as previously. So much so that now they feel certain of themselves and are "boldly" correcting that weakness. There is too much of that boldness and not enough reflection. Such combativeness in appearance is in fact defensive because on the road to the goal it becomes absorbed with that which impeded seeing workers' problems properly, and we must and want to lead the workers.

It is paradoxical that I, a military man, must persuade others that we cannot do much through force. I myself know that it is easier to thrash someone than to explain to him patiently.



But let us return to the accusations. Very briefly, my relationship with the Left is the same as it is with the revisionists in general. I described it in ZYCIE PARTII (16 February) in association with a certain discussion. (Is not ZYCIE PARTII a party publication?) I can only add that such ideological orientations must be patiently corrected, explained. And in this way to calm down, to hold up the shouting comrades who are striking about blindly with something unwieldy, to remove them further from politics, into the depths of the last movement. And this movement should remain in Poland and not in diplomatic emigration.

Wrebiak asks me to leave the dogmatists in peace, but he complained about the liberals and is prepared to render his files to me personally. Thank you, but I can manage by myself; all the more so since this polemic is very interesting intellectually. But does every article in conclusion have to include an alibi, have to be consistent in both sides?

I have been equally as hard on those on the Right. I will not brag about how many times I had received awards from ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI or with whom I happened to polemicize with in POLITYKA. Everything is documented, and as our brothers the Russians say: "What you write down cannot be expunged with an axe."

We have an abundance of enemies. There are enough for everyone. Somehow, however, I do not recall Wrebiak calling for an attack on the sectarians with equal fervor as he does regarding the liberals. Is he really concerned here about equal shots at both wings? Doubt deepens because of the fact that such a competent individual having such important information wastes his efforts in clashes with Kwiatkowski instead of exposing that "liberal-liquidation lobby," especially now just before the 12th Plenum.

Lobby is a concept that I know only from the dictionary of foreign expressions. Kopalinski defines it as a "pressure group having influence on a legislative body to benefit the interests of specific classes, groups, institutions and so on, primarily by influencing members of the parliament." What do I know of Sejm lobbies? At times I walk down Wiejska Street to look into the bookstore "Czytelnik," and I often go to the party editing offices that adjoin the Sejm. And that is all. It is true that I saw some sort of excavation next to the Sejm, that something was being built, but I would not dare to suspect--perish the thought--that there are some kind of party freemason snouts under the Sejm, going underground.

I also do not know what my adversary is concerned about when he reminds me that I wrote in TU I TERAZ and not in the "party publications" as he does. That same text also appeared at the same time in the party publication ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY. The weekly edited by Kazimierz Kozniewski appears under a motto from the Communist Manifesto: "Proletarians of all Nations, Unite!" on the first page, but even if it were to appear under the name of Saint Kazimierz and with the salutation "Praise be to Jesus Christ," I would still write for it if I am asked. I do not change my views depending on the publication; what I publish depends on me and not the publisher.

Does Wrebiak think that writing in TRYBUNA LUDU raises one to the role of a people's tribunal? Or perhaps he is letting it be known here that his reasoning is the same as those of other critics of this article have expressed, that in presenting matters in this way "we expose ourselves." It is not too well known what we have to hide. The party, I believe, has nothing to hide. Lenin "exposed" unceasingly, engaged in polemics on every occasion. Forty-five volumes of these polemics have been collected, which would be worthwhile for some to read aloud, because in life they do not measure up to them.

#### Rejoinder by Wrebiak

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Tadeusz Wrebiak: "What is Really Bothering Kwiatkowski in His Reply?"]

[Text] I admit that Stanislaw Kwiatkowski wrote his reply under the influence of hasty emotions because it contains more allusions, personal sallies and even slanders than factual, meritorious polemical arguments. But it happened and one cannot change the text. Thus it is necessary to pluck out of that text and not another several fundamental matters.

I have been accused that the entire supposedly sympathetic critique of Kwiatkowski's article in TU I TERAZ (No 10) was based on what it did not contain. Of course, the author is right if he is thinking about the article's conclusion because it is here that he remains silent and therefore belittles the harmful activities of the liberal while pointing a finger at the dogmatists as the only political opponents of the present party leadership within the party who should not be belittled.

The author willfully exposes one problem in his writing while remaining silent about others that are no less important and are closely linked with the first one in the article, in which the relationship of the party to the political opposition and the party's own mistakes are discussed. Is not such writing significant?

Consequently, did it not serve to signal sympathetically to the author of the mentioned article (despite all the viciousness, it was still sympathetic and not supposedly sympathetic) that on this matter I have a different viewpoint than he because I believe that not only that direction is "squinting" in politics--preferred by my opponent--but that both direction of such "squinting" cause equal harm to the party?

Finally, in his reply the author does not remain silent regarding the relationship he has with the liberals. Thus, his relationship to the one and the other should be compared. As he states, his relationship to the Left is "the same as it is toward the revisionists." But for him polemics with the liberals are "more interesting intellectually." He says that the far leftists should be removed as far as possible from politics, in the depths of the last movement. And this movement should be "in Poland and not in diplomatic emigration."

He brags that he also frequently scolded those on the Right, but now somehow he is unable to uncover them, that perhaps in the excavation next to the Sejm "party freemasons" are in hiding, going underground.

Well, I can only reply to a sneer with a sneer, and I advise the author of the reply not to waste his valuable time looking for those "party freemasons," as he labels the party liberals, in the dark excavation beneath the Sejm; instead he should look there where there is much more light because often it is there where it is brightest that one forgets to search for that which should be uncovered.

Kwiatkowski also asks if every article must have an alibi to be consistent on both sides. Of course not. But in conjunction with this it should be remembered that not everyone who "squints" at dogmatism speaks solely to the author, that in the given specific article he is, unfortunately, consistent on one side only. I fear that my opponent is prone to classifying all criticism directed at him as an expression of dogmatism. Perhaps that is why he, without proof, lavishes so willingly such terms as "Wrebiak pleads to leave the dogmatists in peace" or that apparently I felt offended "mainly because Kwiatkowski pleads with exceptional consistency for the dogmatists, sectarians" and so forth.

I also do not understand on what basis he suggests in his reply the thesis that my viewpoint is akin to the "reasoning expressed by other critics of his article," that by presenting the matter in this way we "expose ourselves." (And since the author of the reply notes in association with this how Lenin acted in such cases, it should be said that Lenin assumed a realistic attitude to many other matters also, but somehow Kwiatkowski strangely does not perceive these matters.)

Also, I do not know why the author summarized at some length the guiding thought of his TU I TERAZ article, bragging that he recently read a draft of some kind of paper evaluating the political situation and that he does not agree with the material because the authors focus all their attention on the opposition as was done previously with Solidarity.

Perhaps in this way he wanted to suggest that to some extent I also engaged in polemics with the other theses of his article and not only with those "radical" ones he formulated in his conclusion. Such an interpretation is evidenced by the fact that the following statements were actually found in the conclusion of the reply: "For example, he needles me that my writing about the relationship to the opposition is the conviction of those not yet convinced." Well, obviously, according to my opponent's tastes it should be stated more bluntly that his writing about the relationship to the opposition is the conviction of dogmatists, and that the political battle cannot be won administratively or, even more so, the ideological battle with the opposition. Excuse me, but I did not say that it would be better that way.

Something or another should also be said about the two showy metaphors. In the beginning the author of the reply writes that he is "interested in

resolving problems" and I, supposedly, only in "opponents to beat," and he concludes that my viewpoint is the viewpoint of an ideological "gendarme" who is not involved himself in combatting the opposition but only in cleaning up his own ranks. I leave it to the reader's judgment if it really is so, because I know much less about "gendarmery" than my opponent.

I would like to congratulate the author for the second metaphor because our party, which of course continues to be ideologically frustrated, could use more than one good ideological revisionist. Naturally, no one as flashy as I and not one who is spoiled but one of the highest quality equal to the world production level. I also believe that the very next Central Committee plenum, which will be devoted to ideological matters, will not only fulfill the role of ideological reinforcer but also of the said ideological correcter if such a need arises.

I could still cull this and that from the reply, but unfortunately the length of the text allocated to me does not permit it.

In conclusion, I would like Kwiatkowski to consider these comments--with eyes wide open--as sympathetic comments although, I admit, in places they are virulent. But in this specific case how could it be otherwise?

I also am pleased that we agree on one question at least, since above all we are discussing party affairs in the organ of the Central Committee.

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CSO: 2600/761

INTERMENT CAMP INTERVIEW WITH SOLIDARITY'S GWIAZDA

Berlin POGLAD in Polish 10 Apr 83 pp 17-20

/Interview with Andrzej Gwiazda, given in Bialoleka Prison Oct 1982 -  
Reprinted from SKORPION, a Journalistic-Literary underground publication,  
Gdansk, No 3 Dec 82-Jan 83/

/Text/ /Question/ How are you feeling?

/Answer/ well, thank you.

/Question/ What was, in your opinion, the gravest error committed by our  
movement before 13 December?

/Answer/ We poisoned ourselves with our own propaganda. The facts were  
confused with hopeful wishes.

/Question/ In the union two concepts of functioning battled: that based  
on the charisma of its leader. i.e., the autocratic, and the democratic.  
From today's point of view which was the more useful? Did opposition within  
the union play a positive part in regard to that which has occurred?

/Answer/ In August I fought for a "form of understanding" which would have  
assured at least one-half year of legal activity. I reasoned that this  
would be sufficient time to prepare society for autonomous action, when the  
leaders would be made to sit it out. The people accepted the scheme  
naturally: we have chosen leaders, let them take care of our problems. In  
an unknown, unsure situation the people wanted a compass. They chose the  
most direct way--the authority of the leader--which freed them from thinking,  
responsibility, and which demanded only passive support. The public  
conviction that "the leadership" acted only in the name of the membership,  
that of itself it could accomplish nothing, the tendency to take up the  
burden of involvement in decisionmaking and accepting some of the  
responsibility was not easy and only a great authority could do it. I  
believe that the course of events has confirmed my view. The fact that the  
demonstrations on May 1st and 3rd and also the wave of strikes and  
demonstrations after 8 October were organized outside the Provisional  
Coordinating Commission /TKK/ confirms the view that the work forces are  
more daring and show more initiative than the central leadership. "Union"

opposition could not play a serious part when it was more important who was speaking than what was said. For example, the only set of instructions for behavior and strike methods during martial law was worked out by a group of activists who had quit or were removed from the Gdansk Regional Board. The instructions were printed on private paper outside the union print shop. But it turned out that there was no one to sign them. However, no one from the "union opposition" signed the letter of allegiance to WRON, which many of the orthodox activists did happen to sign.

/Question/ Was the concept of passive resistance (as the only one) correct? How do you see the problem presently and in the future?

/Answer/ Members of the Provisional Coordinating Commission (a) did not know the moods of the work forces (b) were crushed by the weight of responsibility (Bujak's letter) (c) were overcome by a unifying conviction, that in every action all must take part. These were the reasons which gave rise to the minimal demands. I also suspect the influence of advisors, who thought that a call for determined action would undermine the authority of the Provisional Coordinating Commission, the preservation of which they considered paramount. Perhaps they were counting on coming to an understanding with the WRON. I believe that resistance must be universal, unrelenting, and must encompass all fields. Each must do that for which he has the resources. The delegatization of Solidarity took away the possibility of controlling the standard of life. The defense of economic interests must be taken over by the workforces. The independence of the enterprise is fictional, and cannot be used to cover up exploitation. We should not worry about a factory being unprofitable---it is profitable everywhere, so that's the government's affair. We must fight for social matters, occupational safety and hygiene, housing. I believe that strikes for economic goals will be treated lightly. We must also fight, without exception, for those comrades who have been thrown out of work. Those that have been released, and the families of those arrested must be given full assistance by their coworkers. We should not restrain spontaneous actions, but, on the contrary, join together across the country, if only to foil the power of ZOMO. Something must be happening every day. This is our only chance for victory and the condition for getting any kind of aid. One must remember that our capitulation would destroy the hope of oppressed societies.

/Question/ Polish liberals (Korwin, Mikke, Kisiel) and marxists (Wiatr) hold that Solidarity is a utopian movement, and reason that the sociopolitical majority is likely to recognize "equality" as the most important value in opposition to "freedom." "Solidarity" then must fall apart or become a totalitarian movement. Does such a danger exist, and what are its consequences today and in the future?

/Answer/ Freedom and equality do not have to be in opposition, providing they are not treated as distant and abstract. Freedom must end where it becomes a source of injustice. Equality under law, access to knowledge and truth (information) is a condition of freedom and exists alongside it.

Equality understood as the guarantee of the minimum needs of existence is not a threat to freedom. But we never had such freedom and equality (the average height of boys in two diverse social groups differs by 11 centimeters--which is evidence of malnutrition). It is difficult to figure out what individual speakers meant when they used the word "equality." A member of the leadership of Solidarity, a worker, a supporter of "equality," when asked, "If there were privately-owned factories, where would you work?," replied without thinking, "In a private factory, of course." I believe that the conviction held by many of the intelligentsia that the workers want barracks equality is overblown. "Solidarity" was a young movement--totalitarianism was a real danger, since people did not know exactly what democracy was, or how to use it, though they tried to. The confusion of ideas was also brought about by those who, not having any hope of gaining mass confidence, presented autocratic structures as democratic, hoping to make their careers in the foyers of power. There are no good totalitarianisms, only the bad and the very bad.

/Question/ What do you think of the emerging conflict between the intelligentsia and the workers. The first group is accused of "riding on the backs of the workers," collecting political capital for the future, and of mafia-like tendencies--or is this only the effect of propaganda?

/Answer/ This cannot be answered briefly. A member of the intelligentsia differs from a worker only in that he has finished his studies. This is the end--although the influence of education surely exists. It is more reasonable to evaluate individuals. I'd like to emphasize that the trade union "Solidarity" is not a place--by statute--for such divisions. It is well also to ask why the workers accuse the intelligentsia but not the reverse? Are there reasons, or is it the influence of propaganda which has been used to divide people, make the worker a "sacred cow," and insist that the workers rule here? Those who believed that the workers rule Poland have accused them of antinational politics, censorship, falsification of history, falling mortar, uneven trouser-legs. The workers, for whom wages higher than those of engineers were proof of their power and good work, joyfully exceeded quotas in the production of trash, and foisted the blame for leaky roofs, uneven trouser-legs, etc., onto the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia, on the other hand, published nonsense in the newspapers while the workers stood in long lines to read that nonsense. The workers did not help, "did not slide down the backs of the intelligentsia," when in 1968 the intelligentsia came out against censorship, lies and servitude, when they protested amendments to the Constitution, when in 1976 they organized for the aid and defense of the persecuted Radom workers. The events of 1956, 1970, 1976 were acts of workers--unfortunately these ended in cries "Wieslaw, Wieslaw" /reference to Gomulka/, and "we will help," while in 1976 comrades were left without assistance. Both groups have many reasons to be proud, but they also have reasons for shame. They have no reasons for giving themselves airs. Workers perform relatively uncomplicated processes in large groups, in social actions they have a tendency toward occasional forceful moves and a simplistic assessment of the situation. They express their views clearly, and rarely fall back to fooling themselves. The intelligentsia works in small groups or singly on

complicated problems. They have a tendency to act according to legal formulas, using methods of peaceful pressure. They see each situation in its full complexity, and often overcomplicate it. They often build theories which are used to justify fear to take decisive action. I believe that both groups can teach each other a great deal, and not only in matters connected with their jobs. The year 1980 has shown that only a combination of these qualities leads to success. Political capital is gathered through good ideas and correct decisions. The gathering of political capital without work for the good of the organization is only possible in degenerate and nondemocratic organizations. Mafia-like tendencies--this refers to behind-the-scenes activity. There were people in "Solidarity" who were afraid that the workers would create something similar to the October Revolution, that is--murder of the intelligentsia, the institution of absolute equality, a new form of communism etc. They saw the limiting of the influence of the masses on the decisions of the union, that is, democracy, as the only method of preventing this. But if the congress delegates cut the discussions /prattle!/? short and quickly approved the prepared texts of the resolutions without considering their meaning, then one should not strike one's breast but the forehead. As for "sliding"--in Solidarity for every 4 blue collar workers there were 5 white collar workers. I don't envy the blue collar workers if during 1.5 years 4.3 million white collar workers slid down their backs.

/Question/ Will the arrest of KOR /Social Self-Defense Committee/, have an influence on the future of the government? How, in your opinion, should relations be structured between the union and the opposition groups? How do you see the use of conspiracy in underground and prison conditions?

/Answer/ I see only one difference: the opposition are those who dared to act without waiting for permission. "Solidarity" acted legally without inviting repression, and raised slogans put forth by the "opposition" (with the exception of some from the Confederation for an Independent Poland /KPN/). Almost all the opposition activists left their pre-August groups for work on behalf of the union. The delegatization of Solidarity made us all "opposition," with the exception of the hardcore WRON supporters. A year and a half ago no one wanted to take action without the protection of "Solidarity"--this stifled initiative. Now that the umbrella of protection is gone we can expect groups in various fields--political concepts, cultural groups, religious groups, labor unions, publishing--to make themselves independent. I believe that it is necessary to formulate not only common goals, which are obvious, not only to coordinate action but to decide on goals and tactics. This will allow us to avoid misunderstandings, substitute meaningful discussion for squabbling. If the differences are not formulated arguments will start on vicarious or personal subjects. The arrests of the people who were the real initiators of the resistance movement, people who were gifted with initiative, courage, and experience, means a great loss to us. We will miss their conceptions, articles, initiatives. This will not be a deciding influence, for the resistance movement is massive and in their place will step hundreds and thousands. The methods of conspiracy are dictated by the size of the repression. It is impossible to act without



incurring losses, but these must be minimized. The deciding factor is the ratio of effectiveness to losses. The same concerns prisons--then again, prison methods can be learned from letters smuggled out.

/Question/ Must the reform of the economy succeed? What will decide this?

/Answer/ The fall of the economy has a structured character. It has embraced the entire camp. It is a simple consequence of marxist doctrine, especially when endangered by society, the economy must support the system, that is, be a political tool. One must choose between doctrine and a working economy. The greater the economic disaster the more drastic the methods of rescue. It was not difficult to predict the methods the Reds would use. They can rule by edict only. The building of a 7-billion-zloty forge in Stalowa Wola (weapons) and the proposed law on mandatory employment point out the road they chose.

/Question/ What are your chances of getting political prisoner status? How do you see the effort to gain this status?

/Answer/ "Free the Imprisoned." That is the rallying cry of all demonstrations and strikes. I am afraid that the simultaneous demand for political prisoner status may weaken the first demand, and may create the impression that we are reconciled to the fact that we are in prison. I will discuss this with the underground. This matter is being worked on by the Church and Amnesty International. The president of the International Red Cross promised me that he will take this up with Jaruzelski. I do not feel competent to advise you on any form of action, We will think on this.

/Question/ Has your relationship with Walesa changed?

/Answer/ My relationship with Walesa is determined by the percentage of his statements that I consider correct against those that I do not agree with. Since the meeting of the Presidium of the National Commission in Radom Walesa has not spoken publicly--therefore there were no reasons for a change in our relationship. Currently, I have sympathy for him in that he is sitting it out alone, but I envy his conditions.

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CSO: 2600/730

POLAND

SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST DESCRIBES MILITARY CAMP CONDITIONS

Berlin POGLAD in Polish 27 Mar 83 pp 21-24

/Article: "W DRODZE, no 1, Bydgoszcz, 13-Dec-1982; SOLIDARNI, no 2/49, 27 Dec 1982; Reprint for BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY SOLIDARNOSC, no 56, 2 Mar 1983; Military Internment"/

/Text/ Notes on the first days of his stay at Trzebiatow, by a member of "Solidarity" punitively interned by the military during the general Polish conscription of 5 Nov 1982.

Trzebiatow, 5 November 1982. Eighty persons arrive. Breakfast is served: margarine, cheese, coffee with milk, a shortage of mugs. We proceed to the gymnasium where a barber, military committee, counterintelligence, political officers and a medical committee await us. Outside are soldiers armed with carbines /KBK/ and sharp weapons. The Polish state railway /PKP/ station was likewise heavily guarded. Chief of staff orders indicated that recidivists are coming into the unit, adventurers and various elements, and so heads must be shayed, as well as beards and mustaches. After several heads were completely shaved, a complaint was lodged with the staff by those waiting in line--the only effect being to retain mustaches. Some of the officers, after conversing with us, were astonished at the cadre's attitude towards us. Counterintelligence and politicians interrogated us on the subject of activities in "Solidarity." All who were called upon proved to be active members and activists in the union. After donning uniforms, we go to a dreadful and slovenly-served lunch. Later assembly and briefing by the company commander--nothing unusual. There will be no passes or furloughs for the duration.

Soldiers in the senior ranks of active service told us that there is a rumor concerning the unit "that it rescued socialism in Poland in December."

5-11. We live in barracks specially prepared for us. In the morning the chief of staff says: Well, now they will have no paint nor walls to paint.

7-11 Sunday. The meals are somewhat better, but continue to be served slovenly. In the afternoon, a division officer arrives. He bursts in on our company and is frantic. He makes many comments of a disciplinary and routine nature. After dinner we receive jackets. At night we place our boots in front of the

hall and walk barefoot--there are no houseslippers. In the evening, the chief of staff pays a visit to us and drives out the soldiers from other companies. It is forbidden to have contact with them.

8-11. The first function on the grounds. On the large base we became familiar with ramparts and trenches. We return quite exhausted. The food continues terrible. In the afternoon, a repetition of the morning's exercise. A scurvy trick! Later, a meeting with the political officer of the company. His response to a question as to whether we will be able to go to church, was that we serve in a socialist army. Then there were many comments on the subject of social conditions, food and the relationship of officers towards us. There were many comments on the subject of social conditions, food and the relationship of officers towards us. There were few answers, they will come in 1 week's time. During the evening, two shots from a carbine were fired at the windows of our company.

9-11. Meet with commander Lt Col P. We demanded improved conditions in the mess hall, an improvement in the food, latrine repairs, that presently appeared to be worse than a street lavatory. In the evening, we found order in these places. There were new table cloths in the mess hall, napkins, clean floors and clean aprons on the kitchen help. The service was efficient. Lt Col P threatened us that in the event of any improprieties at any time, some one would be smashed. He boasted of the direct cooperation by the Civic Militia /MO/ and the Democratic Party /SB/--for a rumored list of people from this region who, under certain circumstances should be liquidated. It was he who personally led the regiment in the occupation of the Lenin Shipyards at Gdansk. Apart from that, he is even rather friendly. In response to a question regarding what we will do after the 2 weeks of training, he said that as yet, he does not have instructions. During the rest of the time--drilling. In the afternoon, a meeting with the deputy commander of the regiment with rank of major on political issues. Unsympathetic. He screamed at us as he reviewed the national situation: anarchy and the underground will be liquidated; the army will save society; striking plants will be dissolved.

10-11. The professional cadre is in a state of battle readiness--all sleep in the unit. Breakfast is tolerable. In the morning we march on to the grounds in full dress plus spades. We walk for 1 1/2 hours and then prepare to shovel sand. We get an unexpected visit. Major P., deputy commander on political matters, visits us to determine if we are striking; at 14.00 hours, we return to the unit. In the evening someone spills powdered tear gas on the company grounds we all begin to cry.

11-11. During the afternoon, a radio announcement regarding Brezhnev's death. We march out and dig ditches, and work hard until 14 hours. Our entire digging is officially referred to as "sapper training", although it has little in common with it. It is only a new form of reprisal. Most of us are proficient in various civil and military specialties. Today's order--we are all assigned to the rifle corps. Paranoia! There are sailors here, airplane mechanics, communications men, apprentices, etc.

12-11. Walesa's release was announced. What does this signify? Two days ago they removed our radio from the club room under the pretext that it needed repairs. It was returned today without medium and short wave ranges. This is humorous and sad. The cadre continues to sleep in the units.

13-11. During lunchtime, we stand and observe 11 months of martial law with 1 minute of silence. Our platoon leader is unable to tell us what we will be doing in the approaching days. He states that he sometimes receives orders 1 hour before their implementation. He is also irritated by the remote control. During an appeal, the deputy company commander on political affairs advises that by decision of Lt Col P, 3 soldiers can attend church services; that is, one from each platoon. The decision is final. However, he proposed no limitations on attending the cinema.

14-11. Sunday. The trio selected by the drawing of lots attend church services. They try to arrange for mass in the unit or the church when participation is more numerous. The pastor does not actually refuse, but is not particularly pleased with the visit. In the evening we go to the "Morskie Oko" cinema; there are 68 of us. Church going is restricted to the minimum, whereas other things are obviously not under supervision.

15-11. In the morning, a show of materiel for us. Our identity cards were confiscated on 5-11, on the first day of training. Despite assurances from the deputy commander on political affairs that no one has the right to confiscate our identity cards, we have not received them. Besides that, we are the only company to have a supervisory officer on duty 24 hours per day. The food is not good at all, it's always peas and sauerkraut or sauerkraut and peas, or fish from enormous cans which turns one's stomach. Headquarters still does not know what to do with us. Always the same answer to our questions: there are no orders... It is rumored, according to the earliest plans that we were to be trained by karate and judo experts; the assumption being the daily elimination of five to six soldiers from the scene. Too bad for us!

16-11. Yesterday, after we went on the base, the contents of our knapsacks, closets and bunks were thoroughly searched. This action was conducted by 4 officers of the unit's staff. Servicemen on duty did not exactly know how to describe what took place, because they were asked to step out. The counterintelligence officer conducts interviews on certain days. Among other things, he inquires as to who has a radio in the company, because he knows well that there are several.

17-11. It is rumored that our call-up for training is the result of a special order from the General Chief of Staff. The unit commander has little to say in connection with this. There is little probability that we will be released in February. A decision has been reached as to what we are to do--on Monday, we begin the digging of trenches and holes on the broad terrain of the unit.

18-11. A meeting with Captain A on the 17th. He fails to explain why our identity cards were confiscated; this was on the recommendation of the commander

of the Pomorze District. He likewise did not present any legal justification. Subsequently, he asked us to write a report on the subject of correspondence that we or our families had with persons residing in capitalist countries. We refused, demanding legal grounds. The captain is clearly embarrassed, and returns in 1 hour; he reads the regulations indicating that every soldier is obliged to notify the unit commander of the existence of any correspondence with the West. Several write such reports.

From the editor:

This is one of the earliest accounts of the extent of service in special units. In comparison with later ones, its portrayal appears outright idyllic, of which you can be convinced on the basis of the following text, one of the last to have reached the West.

There are 350 persons located in Chelm from various sections of the country. Following their arrival, they found all electrical outlets sealed so that they could not listen to the radio. Shortly thereafter, they were transferred to a base for a 40-day stay (an unheard of period of time in the winter). They live in tents located approximately 10 meters from the Vistula. Awful food, difficult atmospheric conditions--as a result of which many reservists end up in the infirmary with colds and pneumonia. Family visits are confined to 30 minutes under the supervision of an officer. On 10 November, the "interned" soldiers protested against the banning of "Solidarity" with a hunger strike and the hoisting of our union's flag. (...)

The cadre comes from Chelm, Wroclaw and Szczecin; up to 20 November, 8 persons were released, of whom 2 persons have been decoded as "theirs." Training lasts from the 7th hours to the 18th hour--including Sundays, with breaks for lunch and dinner. In the subsectors, one-third of the ranks are ill; there were three cases of penicillin shock, which is administered without making tests. The military hospital in Grudziadz--filled. The infirmary--filled. Upon receiving injections, the sick are confined to tents. They are compelled to attend all assemblies. We have received instructions that there will be no passes or furloughs. We have learned from certain persons that they were informed of the fact that criminals are turning up in the unit ("who will have to be dealt with"). At night, armed patrols from other units guard us; pictures of the pope and crucifixes were torn down from the tents. Political Lt Dabrowski of the 6th division said that: "A naked woman hanging in a tent is the same as the pope." Major Luczak, regiment commander, called some soldiers brawlers and brutes, because they went into the cadre coffee shop to purchase pastry. The physical and psychological state of some people--very bad.

9951

CSO: 2600/651

HUNGARIAN RADIO INTERVIEWS JARUZELSKI ADVISER GORNICKI

LD110456 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 10 May 83

[From the "10 Minutes of Foreign Politics" program; interview granted by Major Wieslaw Gornicki, Polish journalist and adviser to Polish Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski, to editor Andras Doinany in Budapest; date not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] What stage has social consolidation in Poland reached today?

[Answer in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] It can be said that social consolidation is advancing slowly but constantly. It is in reality a process; nobody expects a sudden change. The shock that has been lived through is very deep. International and psychological factors also play a part in this. However, I am not actually talking about consolidation but about normalization. The former means grouping decisions around a program. In our country this is still rather far off. On the other hand, normalization is a kind of modus vivendi, which is taking place most rapidly among the peasantry and to some extent the workers, although there is still a lot that remains to be done there too. Normalization is the slowest, unfortunately, among the creative intelligentsia. Normalization depends to a large degree on the tempo of ending the economic crisis. Understandably, people are bitter, not only because of market supplies, but also because of the tragic housing situation. Finally, normalization also depends on when the West--above all the United States, which has declared itself the chief enemy not of the Polish People's Republic, but of the entire Polish people--will realize that it has lost.

[Question] This is what Deputy Premier Rakowski said not long ago about the contradictory situation: The government, the authority which I represent here today, stands on the same side where the 1980 summer protestors stood. This is what he said recently at the Nowa Huta Lenin Steelworks. We stand on the side of those protestors, who demanded that we return to the sources of socialism, to the basic principles of social justice. But we are not and will not be on the same front with those who oppose the return to realistic thinking, who oppose the stabilization of the situation, or who oppose socialism. So far the quotation reflects the spirit of the ninth extraordinary PZPR Congress, which took place almost 2 years ago now; it reflects

the complex situation existing in Polish society to this day and which makes emergence so difficult. The significant part of Polish society watches events with mistrust and passively, disillusioned and expectantly. According to a briefing by the government spokesman, on 1 and 3 May a total of 40,000 people in Poland took part in illegal demonstrations, while 6.5 million workers attended an organized march. Therefore, relatively few people are now undertaking active opposition activity. But this does not mean that in the bottom of their souls a lot more people do not support opposition. Let me allude to the fact that some people have now been organizing this kind of illegality for 18 months without the police being able to arrest them. At the same time, there are still fewer who actively support socialism. As it transpires from the assessments one reads in the party papers, this is in part true even in the party organization. In particular, smaller plant and village basic organizations are finding it hard to recover from the shocks of the past years. Although the number of party members today is 2,34 million--nearly 1 million less than in the summer of 1980--a part of the current party membership is also deterred by the mistrust [words indistinct] in its environment. The party organizations of the large plants, naturally, are better off. They are more organized and bigger in membership. At the same time, opposition groups are also present in a few big plants. The situation of the communists is not made easy either by the fact that the economic reform discloses that a few giant companies are working uneconomically and at a loss. The solution would be achieved by measures that are not exactly popular but which are economically justified. But how should these measures be taken? Winning over the masses is of basic importance.

[Answer] At the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] Congress, General Jaruzelski described those of whom you speak as the silent majority. This, then, is a majority, but it is not true that it is silent because with the daily work, if they perform it honestly, they are voting for accord. Neither do I underestimate the significance of those who take a stand against the people's power because although there are few of them, they are very well organized and well provided, for example, with huge amounts of Western currency. But the party, the people's power, must win over this silent majority. The party must convince it that we will not deviate from the road of reforms.

[Question] The new trade unions have started to function. Over 2 million active workers and pensioners have now joined. This is not a small percentage in a few months. The leadership is trying not to force anything. They say: Let the new organizations win respect through their combative and responsible work of protecting interests. But at the national workers' aktiv conference it was said that in certain places the leaders want to direct even the new workers' organization, they do not tolerate sober criticism, they do not bother with the opinion of the collective, they assess as hostile even well-intentioned warnings. This too is a slice of reality--the presence of people who do not understand a great deal about the events of the past years, who fear for the safety of a socialism envisaged in a doctrinaire manner vis-a-vis the party's post-congress policy. But what makes it even more difficult for the new trade unions to gain ground is called in Poland the myth of Solidarity;

a myth about a huge mass organization that the workers created for themselves. Many people do not understand to this day why and how the leadership of a multimillion member organization was able to become a focus that might have caused the country's destruction.

If we want to present a social panorama then we must also say something about the peasantry. This group does not nourish myths but distrust founded on bad experiences. For many years the peasantry has not had access to the means of production. This has indeed been bad for the respect of the state.

The private sector, the modernization of which is a basic condition for the solution of the food supply problem, will only believe in renewal when there are enough tractors and fertilizers, building materials and fuel, when production is remunerative and the farmer does not feel at a disadvantage compared with state farms which--and this is unfortunately frequent--achieve worse production results than he does on his five hectares. We must speak about the creative intelligentsia, the artists, some of whom have gone into so-called internal emigration. The writers' and film artists' unions have still not been able to settle their ranks. The fine arts union had to be suspended not long ago because its political resolutions violated the laws in force at the time of the suspended state of emergency. I could mention the situation of Catholic believers and priests among whom--though in a minority--one also finds those who seek confrontation. They would not mind if the pope's visit were to fail and they could accuse Cardinal Glemp of excessive submissiveness. Yet the Church leader is merely a politician. Although the Polish Church has consistently opposed socialism since 1944 and considers itself to be the focal point of moral resistance, it is not willing to risk the freedom and independence that have been gained with so much blood sacrifice. The Polish Church recognizes and understands that Poland is a part of the socialist community and draws its conclusions from this. The founding congress of PRON which just took place was proclaimed by three party and three lay Christian organizations. They reiterated: Everybody who wants to act for the real interests of Poland has a place in this movement: What is in fact the task of this new movement?

[Answer] To a certain degree it has to play the role of a people's front, such as those which operate in other socialist countries. But not exactly the same. Its first and perhaps most important task I could say is to keep an eye on authority. The Sejm will soon be laying down in the Constitution PRON's right to carry out control--from the local organs to the central organs everywhere since this is an organization that recognizes the Constitution and is not in the hands of hostile forces. The other task is to liberate citizens' initiatives, the willingness to act, to turn ideas into action. The third essential task--as we cannot conceal the fact that the majority of the population are Catholics--is that believers can have a place where they may exert their social activity outside the existing lay Catholic organizations. This can be a good teacher for the necessary coexistence and cooperation between believers and nonbelievers, party members and those outside the party.

CSO: 2500/252



PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Commentary on Party Developments

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by K. M.: "The Turning Point is Not Here Yet" under the rubric "Our Commentary"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Last Saturday's conference of the Warsaw party organization culminated the most important political campaign of the party since the 9th Congress. For 5 months the state of the party and its ideological and organizational condition were reviewed. The review was broad and thorough, considering that reports meetings commenced at the party grassroots level--the party group--and ended at the province conference level.

We tried to keep track of the reports campaign in all of its stages, sharing with GAZETA'S readers our observations and feelings. We followed the reports meetings and conferences with an interest made more acute by the awareness of the situation in which they took place. After all, the party was taking stock of itself following the severest trials in its history, following merciless attacks by the political enemy which crumbled the state and strength of the party from the outside--as well as following a period of sudden internal upheavals. The operation of these factors cannot be, of course, referred to exclusively in the past tense.

Thus what image of the party has emerged from the hundreds of meetings and conferences, during which the party organizations and echelons in Great Poland had assessed their attitudes and activities in the course of that exceptionally difficult path traveled since the spring of 1981?

There is no doubt that the reports meetings--the preparations for them, their course and the discussions especially--have revived the party organizations and forced them to consider thoroughly their ideological and organizational condition and the choice of the most urgent goals and of the means of implementing them. In sum, this is collective thinking, and the activities ensuing from it have strengthened the party as a whole although, as justly stressed by the secretary of the Nowomiejska City Quarter at the Poznan Province conference, this still is not the turning point. The campaign has become a step forward: it has energized individual party organizations but at the same time it revealed the still continuing dangers and undoubted weaknesses. It should be reason not so much for satisfaction as for /mobilizing for action/.

The question of further strengthening of the party will be resolved in its basic elements. Many of them still are disorganized and passive. They can be revived by joining in the mainstream of concerns and problems vital to the communities in which they operate. This will often mean active opposition to evil, injustice and unfairness. These days the destiny of the party comrade is--/to give of himself more than others/--and primarily /for others/. He who does not feel strong enough and lacks sufficient will cannot remain in the party's ranks--so declared Wojciech Jaruzelski during the Warsaw conference.

The reports campaign is over, but the re-examination within the party is not. This is a long-lasting process in which the reports meetings were an important milestone but only a milestone, a summation of a section of the path traveled. A genuine strengthening of the party still remains a goal which can be brought closer if /"each of its members, and the more so each of its activists, will act as if the leadership of the entire party and the entire state depended on him."/

#### Katowice Approach to New Party Membership

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Mar 83 pp 1,4

[Interview with Wladyslaw Kaminski, Chairman of the Board of the Katowice Housing Cooperative and member of the Presidium of the CZSBM [Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union] Council, by Joanna Rydygiel: "The Admission of New Members Will Still Have to Wait: The Contributions and Rights of Members So Far Remain Unchanged"]

[Text] [Question] On 3 [Mar 83] the CZSBM Council adopted a resolution regulating the principles for the admission of members to housing cooperatives and for the allocation of dwellings. What conditions must be met for becoming a cooperative member at present?

[Answer] Pursuant to the mandatory law on cooperatives, persons eligible for cooperative membership may be those of legal age who have accumulated in their PKO [Polish Savings Bank] books sufficient savings to pay for apartments.

[Question] How are sufficient savings to be interpreted? I am asking because, although the cost of cooperative dwellings has not changed, it is being said for a fairly long time now that a change, or rather an increase, is inevitable. The question is thus whether this requirement will be met by paying the current charges, i.e. 900 zlotys per square meter of floor area of a tenant-type cooperative dwelling, or will new applicants for cooperative membership be required to pay more?

[Answer] This question has been unequivocally resolved by the resolution of the CZSBM Council. Persons who have saved up in their PKO books sufficient funds for a cooperative dwelling until 31 December 1982 will, under the regulations now in force, become members without having to pay higher charges. Priority in admission to membership will be granted to those who are the first to save the required amount.

As regards persons who have sufficient savings but are still legally minors, they will be admitted to membership only upon reaching legal age.

On the other hand, applicants with insufficient savings must continue to add to them and will have to follow new post-1982 principles.

The balance of the cost of a dwelling will ultimately have to be paid only at the moment the dwelling is released for occupancy to the member. He will then have to pay the charges applicable in a given area at the time.

[Question] Will persons who already are members be qualified and admitted anew as it were or will admission be restricted to persons who have accumulated the full cost of the dwellings but have not yet been admitted to membership?

[Answer] The status of old members will be unchanged. The only difference is that agreements specifying the sequence of allotment of housing in accordance with long-range, i.e. 5- to 7-years programs for housing construction, will be concluded with them.

On the other hand, priority in admission to membership will be given to current candidate members who have saved up the full cost, and next to persons who are not yet candidate members. At a later period agreements specifying their place in the waiting line for apartments will be concluded with these latter persons.

[Question] The resolution of the CZSBM Council is a legally binding document that provides the guidelines for admission to membership and allocation of cooperative dwellings. Is that resolution a sufficient basis for the admission of new members?

[Answer] The law governing the cooperatives delegates to the CZSBM Council the regulation of principles for admission and for concluding contracts with cooperative members. The resolution of the CZSMB Council is thus legally binding. Some of its provisions are obligatory to cooperatives and must be included in their statutes, while others are merely in the nature of recommendations. The statutes will regulate the relationship between the cooperative and its members. The point is that they should spell out clearly and precisely the status of their members. Certain cooperatives are obligated to vote upon these statutes by the end of the first half of this year. Next, the statutes must be registered in courts. Only after that can the cooperatives admit new members. It should be emphasized here, however, that the numbers of members and candidate members in most cooperatives at present are such that only long-range construction programs can meet their housing needs, and hence it is to be expected that no new members will be admitted in the very near future, particularly considering that Article 205 of the law governing cooperatives obligates cooperatives to conclude with their members contracts specifying the time sequence of allocation of housing in accordance with long-range construction programs, and that the terms of these contracts have to be followed. It may happen though that some cooperatives will have fewer members and candidate members and then they will admit new members. This also applies to the new cooperatives being established.

[Question] Generally speaking, are cooperatives admitting new members since 1 January of this year until the new statutes are voted upon?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Then when will the current candidate members, who have already saved up sufficient funds for apartments, be admitted to cooperative membership?

[Answer] As additional building lots are gained for cooperative construction. The situation will vary from one region to another and no generalizations can be made here.

[Question] How will they in the future be notified that they are or will be admitted to cooperative membership?

[Answer] After long-range programs for housing construction are determined, individual cooperatives will make public the schedules for the submission of applications for membership. In general, anyone with sufficient funds is eligible, but priority in processing the applications will be based on the criteria of the date of accumulation of the required savings and the current housing conditions.

If the applicant is admitted to membership, the cooperative notifies him accordingly.

[Question] Are preferences given to particular social groups in admission to membership?

[Answer] Pursuant to the resolution of the CZSBM Council, priority in admission to membership may be granted to certain individuals in view of their particular situation. This concerns persons whom natural disasters deprived of their dwellings, orphans of legal age who leave homes for orphans or foster parents, disabled war veterans and category-1 disabled persons, and candidate members with an extremely long seniority. It should be emphasized, though, that the number of applicants receiving special admission preferences may not exceed 15 percent of the persons admitted during the same period. The granting of membership rights on such priority basis is decided upon by the governing board of a cooperative on the basis of the opinion of the public housing commission.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

#### Assumptions Regarding Party Cadres

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 15 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by (jel): "Premises of the Party's Cadre Policy: Conference at OTMET"]

[Text] Yesterday a conference was held by first party secretaries of PZPR plant committees from the 30 largest industrial enterprises in the Opole Province. It was held at the OTMET Silesian Leather Industry Works in Krapkowice, which the guests had toured prior to the conference, familiarizing themselves with the organization of production, the economic performance of the combine, etc.

The principal topic of the conference, which was chaired by Andrzej Walczak, secretary of the party Province Committee, was the problems of personnel policy at the plants and the role of plant party organizations in implementing the principles of that policy. The starting material for the discussion was the "Main Assumptions of Cadre Policy of the PZPR," worked out at the PZPR Central Committee in November of last year. Among the numerous and varied doubts and matters difficult to solve but relating to not only revisions of the principles of cadre policy, one particular problem attracted special attention: at most plants there are not at present any trained reserve personnel for managerial posts, particularly as regards middle- and lower-level management. At some enterprises the hopes to bring order into these matters are linked to the currently drafted new organizational plans--with cadre problems being put aside, as

it were, until these plans are introduced. It has also been repeatedly stated at the conference that managerial posts and the possibility of occupying them do not attract young people at all. The party's recommendations of candidates for managerial posts and instances in which these recommendations are withdrawn represent yet another problem due to doubts about various details raised by the secretaries of party organizations.

In addition, representatives of the PZPR Province Committee briefed the delegates to the conference about the current economic situation in the province, the development of the trade-union movement in the Opole region and the premises of the national three-year plan as well as of the program for anti-inflation measures.

### Three-Year Plan With Party Support

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Nina Schwarzer: "The Prescription: There Will Be No Miracles" under the rubric "Direct from the Parliament"]

[Text] Even now it can be declared that decisions in this matter will become part of not only the economic but also the political history of the state. It will assess them positively if it turns out that we exploited the potential latent in the nation and its material assets. But curses will be showered if, on the other hand, the Polish economy cannot be propelled forward. Hence our great responsibility for the decisions taken--since they "affect the future of the coming generations"--this is how Deputy Zbigniew Zielinski described the responsibility of deputies for the results of the debate on the Three-Year Plan.

This statement is no exaggeration. The parliament has been debating various economic matters twice in the last few weeks. During a previous session on ways of surmounting the country's crisis the Parliament recommended to the government the preparation of a detailed program for anti-inflation and conservation measures. It should be borne in mind that the intention of the deputies was not merely the desire to expedite government decisions on improving the country's economic situation but also, and above all, the need to make a choice.

For I believe that it has become essential to decide on which will be the lesser evil--the adaptation of social services to the actual possibilities of the economy, in full awareness that this will be a painful measure, or the less vexatious slowing down of the processes of emergence from the crisis. In the meantime a choice has become still more difficult considering that society's protection of those worst-situated has--while it has not diminished--proved to be inadequate. Why? Because the decline in living standards is tangibly affecting a growing number of Polish families. And this paradox is evident precisely now that goods in demand are slowly, very slowly, finally beginning to appear on the market and output is increasing.

In his Tuesday speech Deputy Premier Obodowski declared: "The 1983-1985 plan is a plan tailored to the possibilities ensuing from the crisis rather than to needs. This means that many needs cannot be met during the next 3 years. Let us state this plainly." This also accounts for the different procedure followed in approving this plan and preparing it.

At first glance, though, it is a shock to learn of another statement by the chief of the Planning Commission: "the government did not and does not promise an immediate emergence from the crisis: no such prescription exists or will exist." But this is not so shocking once we link this to the statement by Deputy Tadeusz Lodykowski (representing the Club of PZPR Deputies to the Parliament), who considers the addressees of both programs--the anti-inflationary and the conservation programs--to be enterprises, that is, their work forces, self-government and management. He believes that they provide the chances for exploiting all the factors in production--the increase in labor productivity, progress in the conservation of materials and energy, and wage discipline. "The universal acceptance and assimilation of this dependence will decide the success of the aims formulated in the plan."

Thus the prescription being written, so to speak, which will in the next few weeks be further filled in the Parliament, will work when and only when it will be based on drugs available to our economy and above all when the treatment will be accepted by the society.

And so, absolute trust in the doctor and abandonment of the illusory hopes that "it will pass of itself" are indispensable. Is such trust possible at present considering that enterprises are being scolded for "unjustified payments"? When the odium of being named "state speculators" envelops not only the actual culprits but also honestly toiling work forces who view the mechanisms of the reform as ways of receiving higher earnings--earnings achieved owing to more efficient management, a new incentive system, better productivity, thrift and resourcefulness?

The deputies have firmly criticized the blaming of enterprises alone, although they also made it clear that some sly enterprises are exploiting the loopholes in the reform in order to benefit their own interests rather than the interests of the entire society.

A shortcut--but will it be sufficient?--to gaining public trust will of a certainty be provided by making all wage, investment, etc. decisions explicitly dependent on the production performance. This is indispensable in view of the assumed 21-percent increase in market supplies--or even 24-percent if the anti-inflation measures succeed.

If the market imbalance is not to distort the assumptions of the reform--and this threat still exists--and if the imbalance between supply and demand is not to be offset by price increases--one is to agree with the opinion that the only way out is through an increase in production.

#### Poznan Area Organizations

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by K. M.: "ZREMB--No Room for Apathy; 'TONSIL'--Ideological Upbringing" under the rubric "At PZPR Organizations and Echelons"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /It is not easy these days to be the secretary of a basic party organization [POP], direct the party echelon, and live and work daily among people with many troublesome questions and often also with pretensions and grievances. It is not easy to give talks in which the secretary is sometimes dumbfounded by events and decisions and lacks convincing arguments. But he keeps on doing his party work,

which he generally does outside his regular job duties and often for the first in his life./

What are these party secretaries doing now that the reports campaign is over? When it is time to consider implementing its recommendations, let alone attending to problems which crop up nearly each day?

/Andrzej Grajek, first secretary of the POP at the ZREMB Hoisting Equipment Factory in Gniezno, declared:/

"What do I consider most important at this moment in my work as a POP secretary? The consolidation of party members--but not just as a slogan. How can this be genuinely accomplished? As I see it, through direct daily contact with people at their workstations. We announced a schedule of hours during which members of the POP's executive board will be present to receive complaints and suggestions--but few people came. One has to go himself among the people. Then they not only will talk about their problems but also name the shortcomings and show how to repair them. They will say for example: 'Go see how the material is being wasted at the workstation.' Such contacts are much more productive than a secretary's definitely burdensome obligatory chore of writing various reports that often represent duplication and could be replaced with a single telephone call.

"The reports campaign has, to be sure, contributed somewhat to consolidating our party organization, but let us not delude ourselves that it has resolved all problems in this respect. The 119 members of our POP still include passive and tardy comrades who display little discipline and are ready at the drop of a hat to surrender their party identity card owing to some failure in life,,e.g. the protracted waiting period for an apartment. We wish to clear up this problem once and for all and put a dot over the 'i' as regards attitudes. Hence at present we are conducting--not for the first time besides--individual talks within party groups. During each of these interviews a member of the executive board is present and, together with the group leader and one more comrade, he talks with those whose passiveness pulls down the entire organization. In a nutshell, we do not want party members who exist only on paper.

"It is good that we now have a self-government at our plant. A Workers Council has been elected. This will relieve us of the matters which had previously to be attended to by the POP's executive board. On the other hand, the birth of the trade union entails much greater difficulties. Its role to this day is being exercised by a social services commission appointed on the party's initiative. This has been somewhat due to the 3 months long vacancy of the position of the plant director and by the absorption in the famous affair of 'excessive'--but fully justified under the regulations--bonus payments. To round out the picture, it is worth noting that it was precisely from ZREMB that the leaders of the Gniezno Solidarity had originated. We expect, however, that the problem of founding the trade union, our important partner in the solution of worker problems, will soon be successfully settled."

/Jan Staniszewski, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the TONSIL Loudspeaker Works in Wrzesnia:/

"Recently we achieved a major stride forward in reactivating the political education system at our plant party organization. As known, the events of past years disrupted the continuity of educational work. Party-training lecturers somehow became unavailable. It is quite difficult to attract to Wrzesnia

lecturers from the Province Committee and the more so from the party Central Committee.

"We thus set up a pool of our own lecturers consisting of longtime experienced party members. They underwent appropriate training at the city-gmina echelon. They are directed by comrade Jozef Olesniczak, and the team includes the comrades Jan Goliwas, Zdzislaw Mackiewicz, Mieczyslaw Owsian, Teodor Suszkiewicz and Jan Wawrzyniak, the last-named being a political worker of the PZPR Central Committee and the member of one of the branch party organizations at TONSIL.

"Each lecturer has already commenced systematic work with selected branch party organizations, of which there are 14 at our plant. The topics of training meetings relate to ideological problems. It is not unimportant also that the handling of educational tasks by these lecturers will relieve the secretaries of branch party organizations who even so have plenty to do in exercising their functions."

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

### Economical Plant Management

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (ZG): "Economical Management a Universal Duty" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source"]

[Text] /The government programs for anti-inflationary measures and conservation and the ensuing tasks to the party are being discussed at party meetings in industrial plants./ Party members emphasize that a more economical management is our chief chance to surmount the crisis, that it is the order of the day and must become a universal duty. At plants it is necessary to exploit both the still existing direct potential for increasing output and reducing its cost and the more complex potential latent in modern technologies.

At meetings of the branch party organizations in the Zagan Wool Industry Works the comrades declared that the need to undertake both programs is unquestioned, but fears were expressed as to whether we could implement them consistently. For it so happens that we have had many splendid programs but they could not be implemented owing to poor discipline and the first problems encountered had been thought cause enough to scrap them. Hence the present reservations and the summons to tenacity in applying the reform. At the same time, it was opined that the success of the reform hinges on a rapid even if sometimes painful redeployment of manpower among the subsectors of the national economy so as to channel it primarily into the industrial subsectors manufacturing material goods.

/Discussing the government programs, the comrades from the CERAMIKA Ceramics Plant in Gozdnica/ pointed out that the burden of surmounting the crisis must be more equitably distributed among the entire society, because it is being borne chiefly by the lower-paid employees of the socialized economy. Hence also all actions of the authorities intended to curtail manifestations of social pathology, parasitism, speculation and the amassing of fortunes at the expense of others deserve full support.

/The members of the basic party organization [POP] at the Sheetmetal Products Plant in Malomice/ evaluated the plant's economic plan in its two variants (minimum and maximum) for the present year. This plan chiefly ostulates a fuller utilization of production capacities. It was pointed out that greater efficiency of labor is based on a systematic reduction of production cost, and that this is feasible.

/During a meeting between the executive board of the plant party committee and the management of the Zary Clothing Industry Works/ the social and production problems at that plant were discussed. It was decided to focus attention on tightening work discipline, utilizing work time more fully and strengthening respect for plant property. In the opinion of the comrades, the management is approaching too passively these many important matters which after all are also decisive to effectiveness of management. Hence it was recommended to the management that it organize a plant program for economical operation and regularly monitor its implementation.

At party meetings it is said that the actions taken so far to operate more economically cannot be considered satisfactory anywhere. At many enterprises good economic performance is due to price increases while their output is declining. Production cost is high and what is more the products are of low quality. A universal system of thrift must spread throughout society. This cannot be yet another temporary drive that will soon be forgotten.

Among the workforces and party members in Gdansk plants the opinion prevails that the government programs are justified and timely, but the decisions must be implemented immediately if they are not to share the fate of many other programs over which we had enthused, which was the end of it. Thus, it is necessary to draft and implement rapidly plant plans with the participation of workers' councils, trade unions, and public and political organizations. /At the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Hub in Zagan/ the comrades also express the opinions that, while the programs are justified and realistic, they should now be less discussed at all sorts of big central, province and subsector conferences and instead more attention should be paid to assuring their implementation at plants and enterprises. It is simply that too many conferences are being held at which too many truisms are being repeated so that time is being lost on words instead of deeds.

#### What Awaits Party in Future

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Lucyna Lyszczak: "Consistency of Action as a Condition for Credibility" under the rubric "What Do I Expect of the Party?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The party has passed through a tumultuous period of discussions, reticences, disappointments and disenchantments. It was abandoned by careerists and those could not withstand the severe trial. Those who have remained are now careful also, being aware that today's party is not the same as it had been prior to 1980, but they want to be made to feel that they are not just members on paper and yes-men. At the PREDOM-ROMET Poznan Bicycle Works we discussed this with members of the workforce. They were: Ryszard Horloza, technician-mechanic, secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee, and the following party members: Krzysztof Musielski, white-collar worker; Kazimierz Igras, coproduction expert; and Ryszard Plazewski, toolmaker. Below is the unauthorized record of this discussion.

K. MUSIELSKI: The question may imply that this concerns the advantages we can derive from the party. But this is not so. All of us on joining the party have already had views of our own consonant with the general principles of action of

the party. We think that we should tell ourselves that it is up to us what the party will be like, but the topics and atmosphere of the 9th Congress also have to be considered, for it is in it that guideposts to the future are to be found.

K. IGRAS: Now it is harder and we must demand more of ourselves. We now expect of the party that it opens itself up to society and not just to its members. As I see it, any activity undertaken by the party organization or at the plant or on a broader scale must be based on specifics. A beautiful-sounding program is not enough. What matters is that it be implemented. As party members we shall take an active part in both the adoption and the implementation of resolutions. We wish to feel equally responsible for both these spheres of action and participate in them equally. It is vital to develop at the grassroots level a model which will energize all party members, including those who are still passively waiting.

R. HORLOZA: The question of what are the members expecting of the party is broad but important. Firm and inflexible implementation of the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress is needed. This also concerns the accounting by the government at the forum of the Parliament. Consider the example of the economic reform--the departure from the original assumptions of the reform is causing bitterness among the workforces. In party work attention should be focused on adopting resolutions at party meetings and teaching wise, deliberate democracy. The hopes awakened among party members by the 9th Congress, the democratic elections, cannot be wrecked in everyday practice. We want to see the effects of the implementation of splendid resolutions.

R. PLAZEWSKI: The party at present is short of appropriate cadres, experts in ideological training, and the training forms used so far have proved to be poor and ineffective. The human being with his personal and social problems is overlooked. It is necessary to make history more realistic and credible, to expose it to the rising generation without blank spaces and reticences. Ideology itself is besides too little; "existence determines consciousness." It is thus nothing surprising that people nowadays are mistrustful. Much effort and time, much arduous work will still have to be expended by the party. And the party must be resolute. It must implement not blindly but consistently its resolutions, particularly those concerning responsibility for specific matters. It is impermissible as well to abandon the just principles of the economic reform for the sake of a temporary advantage. The party must firmly adhere to implementing the line of the 9th Congress.

R. HORLOZA: party members want to trust their organization, but deviations from the ideas of the 9th Congress are not just isolated instances. Intra-party democracy is a prerequisite for our trust as well for the authority of the party member at the plant.

K. IGRAS: Authority must be built with small steps by means of facts accomplished. If the party declares that it will do something, this obligation may not be either abandoned or modified. The topics at the meetings also must be concrete. I have attended several training courses but the dull topics and boring manner of instruction caused us to gain practically nothing and to lose time. Polish talkativeness is even now being criticized by the workforces.

Not one of our foursome has vacillated; during that most difficult period we had spontaneously formed a propaganda team at the ROMET. With a political poster we reached the hardest place to reach--the plant department. Now too we are not afraid of political opponents. We expect of the party that it will help us with

its decisions and their consistent implementation as well as by providing reliable information.

R. HORLOZA: How do I view my own further activities in the party--at the plant and outside it? First of all, one has to be consistent and resolute. For a duality of attitudes is being observed. At the plant some are PZPR members but at home in their building or housing project they do not divulge this membership. This is not always due to ideological rootlessness.

The party should also initiate the provision of regular information on the situation of the state and government. Credibility also is a fundamental premise for regaining authority among the public.

#### Party Credibility is Discussed

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Ludwik Krasucki: "Once More About Credibility" under the rubric "Thinking About the Party"]

[Text] /In the autumn of 1980 credibility of the party surfaced as an issue closely linked to the contemporary thoughts about the party and its affairs. This concept gained wide currency, which is instructive and significant. If only considering that it pointed to the living and often painfully felt need for a Marxist-Leninist and hence critical examination of the complex whole of the factors coloring the perception of the party by its progenitor the working class, among the working masses and by the entire society./ [printed in boldface]

The feverish, controversial and--let us admit--in many ways emotional and chaotic discussions in that year should not be forgotten. To the guiding force called upon to exercise the role of the locomotive pulling in a favorable direction the entire process of socialist transformation, to the force centrally situated in the system of directing the state and the economy, the question of bonds with working people of town and country is of fundamental, crucial importance. Obtaining continuously anew approbation and support for program assumptions and strategic concepts and inferring conclusions from situations that can be accepted--in the first stage by significant blocs of working people and at a later stage by their overwhelming majority, is a particularly important skill of a party that grasps deeply and fulfills well its duties.

This precisely is the aspect central to the complex whole of the factors constituting credibility. This concerns factors which provide the collateral for trust. Trust, because without it the designated goals can in no way be attained. Collateral, because this concerns creating a situation in which people will trust the party and acknowledge the validity of its intentions before yet they produce results, since these results will come later after these intentions will pass the test of being implemented in a situation closely dependent on public support.

The dilemma of whether the criticism of the pre-August shortcomings and distortions should be accepted "genuflecting" or "standing up" has from the outset been a false dilemma. To the party, whom no one and nothing can relieve of its leading role in the state, there does not exist the alternative of a choice between

humility manifesting itself in an avalanche of self-accusations and arrogance manifesting itself in the form of pretending that "nothing has happened." Whoever regards Leninism seriously knows that Lenin's attitude toward the mechanism considered here reduced to combining the feeling of the party's rightness and historic accomplishments with criticism and self-criticism. The former precludes capitulation, submission to pressure intended to negate principles and achievements, blurring and loss of identity. The latter precludes complacency, confusion of wishes with reality, escapism from ineluctable contradictions, wriggling out of difficulties with the aid of different varieties of "the propaganda of success."

Not humility and not arrogance but an honest view of reality, a scrupulous assessment of the situation, an open and clear definition of goals and tasks, the identification of the conditions that must be met in order to overcome difficulties and the mobilization of forces for combatting both own mistakes and weaknesses and the enemy desirous of exploiting them--such is the path of the party. We are not the first in the history of the worker movement to have made mistakes, become bogged down in difficulties and find ourselves at a parting of the road. Marxist-Leninist theory has absorbed various experiences linked with such situations. The strength of the 9th Congress consisted also in that, in an unusually complicated situation, while under fire by opponents, on a field filled with a multiplicity of proposals, it has selected the path consonant with the universal principles of our ideology and the international experience in its implementation.

In Leninist interpretation, the party fulfills correctly its leading role if it can avoid two dangers. The first is retreat in face of elemental pressures, submission to the thrust of illusory or wholly deliberately propagated capitulatory concepts. The second is submission to the temptation of vanguardism, hurrah-revolutionism, consisting in the proclamation of radical slogans divorced from the actual readiness of the social forces and their approbation and support.

Credibility is not just some selected word, though words also count, the more so when they are obvious and so are the efforts to translate them into everyday reality. But the essence of credibility is a properly defined program and strategy for the main directions of actions, a position of the party such as corresponds to the Leninist behests of neither dragging one's steps in the rear nor running ahead.

Credibility when so interpreted is above all a great and challenging obligation. The tasks and at the same time attributes concerned doubtless include tenacity in convincing others and winning them over. Important and significant as they are, administrative measures represent, in the great place of relations between the party and the class, the working people, an ancillary, secondary, instrumental factor in ideological, political and organizational work.

Under our present conditions reaching and even breaking through to broad masses of working people is doubtless the most important task. Restricting activities to the intra-party purview, "activizing the aktiv" and "convincing the convinced ones" along with resignation upon first rebuff from mistrustful and doubting people is--when deeply pondered--not an expression of militancy but its total negation.

For militancy does not mean sloganeering or loud appeals but courageous confrontation of doubts and vacillations and ability to find and parry arguments and

respond properly to situations arising at any meeting and encounter devoted to persuading people, whether it is a matter of a few or just one individual who can be won over. This cannot be learned from printed texts and lecture papers. This must happen through our commitment, knowledge and force of conviction.

We do not wish to exacerbate disputes: this is not the point. But we must defend our reasons even if they meet with resistance. The path toward deeply grasped credibility lies in fidelity to one's convictions rather than in inveigling and pursuit of cheap popularity. It also lies in understanding human doubts and hesitations rather than in shouting and branding with labels where--today more than ever--arguments are decisive.

#### Aktivs in Plant Party Organization

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by J. Porebski: "They Are Active Not Only at Festivals: The Party at the Lublin Enterprise for the Production of Structural Elements"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The basic party organization [POP] at the Lublin Enterprise for the Production of Structural Elements [LPPEB] has nearly from its very beginning been among the pace-setters in construction. At various conferences and meetings, as well as in official assessments of performance prepared for intra-party use, this POP has been described as a model example to other POPs./

Thus for example in the late 1970s this POP engaged in very interesting cooperation with the gmina party organization in Strzyzewice. In time this cooperation was extended to the entire enterprise. Aktiv groups were exchanged, mutual invitations to various ceremonies were made, and aid was given in implementing various tasks. In 1980 the very large workforce of this enterprise took part in the gmina sports and recreation festival in Strzyzewice.

Of course, initiatives and actions of this kind which transcend the POP's own purlieu, can be afforded only by an active and flexible organization. The activism of this POP was demonstrated by the slow but consistent increase in its membership. According to 1980 data, more than 15 percent of the LPPEB's workforce were members of this POP, which is several percent higher than the average for other construction enterprises.

On visiting that enterprise several days ago I wanted above all to clarify the question: /Can this POP continue to be regarded as among the most active in the construction subsector?/

Right after one enters the offices of the management one is struck by a large PZPR information chart listing the members of the POP's Executive Board: nine names of the comrades representing the party leadership. Next to it are posted party resolutions and proposals as well as press clippings dealing with the current tasks of the party.

The fact alone of the existence of this chart is eloquent. It demonstrates that the party exists and is active in this enterprise. Has it diminished in membership? Yes! But not catastrophically. Of the workforce of 416 at present

54 are members and candidate members of the POP; that is, 13 percent of the total. Of the nine discrete production departments only one, the Joinery Works No 9, which employs 30 people, has no party members at present. In all the other departments branch party organizations [OOP] or party groups are present and active. Noteworthy also is the fact that those who in the past 2 years resigned from party membership are mostly white-collar workers.

We will answer at once the question: /What about that cooperation with Strzyzewice? Is it being continued?/

Jerzy Filipczak, first secretary of the POP, invites me to the office of the director, Stanislaw Chmiel, where he shows me a trophy cup on which is engraved the dedication: /"Awarded to the LPPEB Team: First Place in the Recreational-Sports Festival. Strzyzewice, 11 July 1982."/

Thus, nothing has obstructed further cooperation. POP activists visit the gmina not only on the occasion of holidays and commemorative events. Even at moments difficult to all, the POP took part in village meetings. Recreational-sports festivals with the participation of the LPPEB have become a tradition in the gmina.

It cannot be said that the enterprise was not interested in continuing this co-operation. It is not accidental that many members of the workforce are recruited from precisely this gmina. In the current situation on the labor market, when every pair of hands counts in production, such cooperation is important. And the POP is perfectly aware of this. This also is why it figures as importantly in the POP's plans as anything that is decisive to the implementation of production targets.

The first 2 years of the 1980s have not been easy to the LPPEB. For commonly known reasons, the demand for structural elements has fallen markedly, material supplies have become more difficult and a large group of highly skilled workers has retired in connection with the new earlier retirement age for pensions. To this day the enterprise experiences a shortage of concrete handlers, reinforcement handlers, warehousemen and carpenters. In this situation the increase in the labor productivity of workers engaged in the production of concrete (from 310 cu m per worker in 1981 to 312.6 cu m in 1982) deserves special mention. However, a decline in productivity has occurred as regards joinery and locksmith products owing to, among other things, the increased manufacture of the more intricate and less profitable products.

Despite the 2-percent decline in productivity, the LPPEB gained profits of 44 million zlotys last year. It allocated relatively the largest part of these profits for the enterprise development fund. In the light of the current conservation program this was an exceptionally just decision. For it has to be stated that the LPPEB's machinery pool is exceptionally obsolete. Nearly all of its departments are 20-30 years old. Most of its facilities and machinery have become completely depreciated so that deductions to the sinking fund are no longer made. In the carpentry shops 70 percent of the machines should be withdrawn from production. In this connection, there is no day without interruptions in production due to breakdowns of machinery. This too adversely affects labor productivity and production cost. There are facilities which, for reasons of more economical management, should be the first to be replaced with their more efficient and economical counterparts. The problem of economical

management as an aspect of a national conference of workers as well as of orderliness and efficiency in the plant will be a topic of one of the coming POP meetings.

/It is being said at the LPPEB that machines are machines but the decisive factor in implementing all great tasks always was and is people. This exactly is why the POP attaches great importance to economic and political training. Every meeting of the POP is preceded by such training, because it is difficult to expect of the comrades commitment to, e.g. the implementation of the economic reform unless they are familiar with its principles and purposes. It is worth noting that such briefings enjoy great interest./

An expression of the concern shown by the POP is its commitment to solving the housing problem. It was on the POP's initiative that the enterprise management reached an understanding with the managements of the neighboring ELEKTROMONTAZ Enterprise for the Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for the Construction Industry and ELEKTROPROJEKT [expansion unknown] enterprise to establish an inter-plant housing cooperative. It can be said that that cooperative already is a fact. Several dozen LPPEB employees have registered in it. Probably in 2 or 3 years they will receive their own apartments.

Interesting reading which largely answers the question of activism with which I am concerned is provided by the report of the POP's Executive Board, prepared last fall for the reports meeting of the POP. One has to agree with its conclusion that the activities of the POP, which during 15 months had held 15 meetings, as well as the Board's own activities, were dominated by the production, economic and social service problems of the LPPEB itself.

The POP has been paying somewhat too little attention to youth matters and the establishment of the new trade-union organization and workers' self-government. But progress is about to happen. The ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth circle is becoming increasingly active. Soon elections to the workers' council will be held. It is gratifying to note that most of the persons registering for membership in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union at the LPPEB are production workers.

Comrade Roman Sajewski discussed the need for greater consistency of action of the POP, for thorough implementation of the established targets and resolutions.

/These conclusions are interesting. They demonstrate that this organization is continuing its traditions and its ambitions to be among the most active POPs in the construction industry./

#### Youth Importance in Party Organizations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 21 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Teresa Slocinska: "Little But Important" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"]

[Text] A week prior to our conversation he had still been acting as first secretary of the POP at the AUTOWARNAP Cooperative Motor Vehicle Repair Works in Grudziadz, whence he moved to his present post of chairman of the City Board of the ZSMP. Jan Przeczewski, 26 years old, engine assembler by occupation, is moreover vice chairman for the problems of working youth at the ZSMP Province



Board, member of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and delegate to its congress. It is not hard to notice that, compared with the attitudes of many young people who are refraining these days from active participation in public life, his commitment is of a quite exceptional nature.

#### In the Direction of Youth

He protests: /"Where I come from I'm no exception. Young people at AUTOWARNAP can't be reproached with indifference and standing aside, in the past or at present. At our plant we had one of the city's best ZSMP circles, a leader in tournaments of young masters of technology and economical management and in work on behalf of the Youth Social Action Fund [FASM]. That period bequeathed to us something important: awareness, which rescued us from drowning in the post-August chaos, and need for action. Immediately following the August events, ZSMP members and young activists became involved in propaganda work which, I believe, helped to maintain peace at the plant and negotiate with Solidarity."

On becoming first secretary of the POP in 1981, J. Przeczewski leaned precisely on youth. Three-fourths of the members of the new executive board were at the same time members of the ZSMP. The change of the guard was painless, with the older comrades passing on the relay baton to their juniors--as their disciples.

J. Przeczewski declared: /"The youth organization at AUTOWARNAP was in the full meaning of the word the anteroom to the party. The ZSMP circle was always under the care of a party mentor, usually the youngest member of the executive board, who kept up regular contact with us and obtained the POP's assistance in solving our problems. Of the present-day members of the POP all are either former or current members of the ZSMP, the latter on the principle of dual membership because--so long as the bylaws permit--they don't want to part with the youth organization. Great help in providing a favorable climate for youth's activism was provided by the present chairman of the cooperative, Zygmunt Zuchlinski, a party member, who in his cadre policy leaned on this part of the workforce./

/"Today this is paying off. My friends--comrades from AUTOWARNAP--are involved in socio-political work, inside as well as outside the plant. They are members of the ZSMP Province Board and the province and city auditing commissions. One-half of the group which founded the new trade union were ZSMP members."/

On the initiative of the POP socio-educational meetings are held each month Saturday at the AUTOWARNAP-sponsored school. Their purpose can be most broadly defined as that of preparing youth for a conscious choice and defense of values by which it will guide itself in life and work. The meetings already held were those with an inspector from the city headquarters of the Citizens' Militia who spoke about juvenile delinquency such as criminal gangs, drug addiction, etc; with the deputy chairman for economics who spoke on the reform; and with the head of the personnel office who spoke on the rights and duties of the workforce member. The POP at AUTOWARNAP thus consistently engages in youth-oriented activities and it can be assumed that there will be no generation gap in that organization.

#### A Little More

Everyone should do his job properly, but some give of themselves a little more.

That "a little more," which should distinguish the party member at the plant according to Ryszard Malecki, first secretary of the POP at the Regional Gasworks Center in Grudziadz, is the obligation to lead the work rhythm, to provide the impetus, to inspire others. And it should be added that the work in question is highly responsible. The 78-person workforce of the Gasworks handles gas supplies for seven provinces of northern Poland.

To the POP itself the thus conceived party-mindedness primarily signifies independence of action.

R. Malecki declared: /"We try to foresee recommendations instead of waiting for them. My acquaintances often wonder why I buy several newspapers each day, but I simply want to be well-oriented, to know what is happening in the country and what at any moment we should do and where to focus attention."/

He has reason for saying so. The Regional Gasworks Center in Grudziadz was the first place in the province to establish a Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON], with the founding group consisting of four party members and five non-party members, which means that the idea of the national accord was immediately translated into reality there. Another and more recent example: a meeting on the anti-inflationary and conservation programs was scheduled there immediately following the session of the Parliament, without receiving directives--which came only later.

/"The conservation measures proposed are very practical. We want the gasworks to get back its own means of transportation, since this would cost much less than the services of the seprate transport enterprise established 5 years ago, and we want to transfer to it from the Energy Works the handling of payments for gas because we believe that this will improve the monitoring of gas consumption and reduce losses due to arrears in payments."/

The 43-person POP whose first secretary R. Malecki has been since 1978 did not pass through the period of silence. There is an 80-85 percent attendance at meetings and the discussion is lively.

/"I believe that the workforce accepts us and our initiatives. This may be proved by the circumstances in which the trade union was established. We were in favor of it--though we did not organize it considering that of the nine members of the founding committee only three were party members. At the moment 93 percent of the workforce belong to this trade union. Incidentally, there never was Solidarity at our plant--somehow, no one saw it necessary to establish it here."/

#### Pluses and Minuses

Both above-described POPs belong in the group of small party organizations, which are extremely numerous. Of the 1,344 POPs in the Torun Province 641 have up to 15 members each and 621 have from 16 to 50 members each. Thus, their members constitute a large and significant part of the party in the region. Significant, because many of these elements are active in plants whose operation directly bears upon the quality of life of the population and shapes the opinion about the efficiency of the authorities, as well as in domains on which hinge such important spheres as education and feeding: in small-industry, consumer service and trade centers, in public-health and educational institutions, in offices of state administration and, finally, in the countryside. What is the

level of activity of these organizations? What is their ability to influence the collectives?

The performance of the small POPs varies broadly. There are some POPs--such as those described above--which succeeded in developing their own style of work, demonstrating the possibilities of small elements, but plainly speaking they are in the minority. Small POPs on the whole display little activism. This concerns primarily the rural and school cells of the party, as well as the cells at co-operatives and state offices. They show little resourcefulness and initiative and encounter problems in exercising their monitoring and opinion-making role.

It might seem that their operating conditions are more favorable than those of the POPs at large plants. In small collectives people are closer to each other, know and understand each other better. But these pluses can at the same time be minuses--in smaller collectives the arrangements may cramp the style more, official relations are more rigid and the pool of cadres capable of singling out valuable activists is smaller. It is no accident that it is commonly believed in party echelons that a good party organization is one in which the executive board or at least the first secretary is a "success," and the organization's leadership wants and knows how to cooperate with the POP, treating it as a partner not just when some matter has to be "passed on" to it in order to have it share in the responsibility.

The elements for which these circumstances are not as successful of course need help--and this is where the problem begins. The heads of the echelons and the generally small staff of instructors simply do not have the time for regular contact with the small organizations. Not infrequently this contact is limited to routine monthly meetings with their secretaries. Perhaps greater support from the Regional Party Work Centers [ROPP] should be expected, chiefly from committee members. Besides, this is their obligation, which they assumed as a result of their own resolutions--and which they unfortunately fulfill in a highly imperfect manner. According to an estimate by Roman Jakubowski, secretary of the Grudziadz city party committee, at most one-half of members of the plenum exercise patronage over the organizations entrusted to them by the 1981 city committee resolution. The monitoring of the fulfillment of this obligation, which should serve as the basis for assessing the activism of echelon members, is done rarely and most often occasionally as happened, e.g. prior to the reports conference in Torun when the evaluating team addressed many bitter words on this topic to the city party committee.

The party reserves latent in the small party organizations should be activated. It appears that the related task of the echelons could be facilitated by programs of work with small POPs, adapted conceptually to the specific features of discrete collectives and preceded by thorough analyses of the performance of these elements. It is significant that generally the committees lack such analyses and where they are performed they are used desultorily and without any major consequences.

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PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Olsztyn Province Aktiv Meeting

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Adam Bartnikowski: "Provincial Worker Aktiv Conference: We Must Search for Production Increase in Savings"]

[Text] Yesterday, the provincial conference of the worker aktiv and management personnel took place in the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Olsztyn. The subject was the government intentions in the area of economization and the bases of the anti-inflation program.

The meeting brought together nearly 500 persons--worker activities, party members and persons without party membership, representatives of managements of work establishments, self-government organs, secretaries of basic level party echelons, and heads of cities and gminas [parishes]. The following were present: Kazimierz Olesiak, vice-minister of finance, Sergiusz Rubczewski, governor of Olsztyn Province, directors of provincial institutions serving the economy, of the Polish National Bank and the Treasury Chamber, and of the Provincial Planning Commission. The deliberations were chaired by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Olsztyn.

Those present at the meeting honored the memory of Wladyslaw Dragun, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, who died on 5 April, with a moment of silence.

In greeting those gathered, Jan Laskowski said: "The purpose of our meeting is to hear the comments and opinions concerning the economization and anti-inflation program. We will submit the conclusions and comments to higher authorities, and certainly, we will use some of them in our daily work on the provincial level."

Then, Jan Malinowski, secretary of the provincial committee, read the report of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Olsztyn.

Sylwester Wisniewski from the Warmia "Warfama" Agricultural Machinery Factory in Dobre Miasto, was the first to speak in the discussions. He asserted that the production of that plant could be considerably higher were it not for

limitations on raw and other materials. The factory has the desire to turn out new attractive products, an example of which may be the initiation of the production of mounted loaders for private farmers. However, this does not have a place in the operational program, and therefore, the supply of raw and other materials for this production will be minimal.

Stanislaw Przeperski from the Mragowo Bumar Construction Machinery Factory presented the achievements of the plant in the area of labor productivity growth. In 1982, this increase, relative to the previous year, amounted to 6 percent, and the increase in production amounted to exactly this same amount. An increase of a further 31 percent is planned for the current year, of which up to 22 percent will be accounted for by productivity increase. In this plant, we have been thinking of economization for a long time. An example may be made by the fact that in spite of the steady growth of production, for several years, a decrease in the consumption of electric power has been recorded.

The speaker also raised the problems of the inappropriate organization of the distribution of certain implements, and also the bad quality of paints and varnishes. Sometimes, it happens that it is even necessary to paint three coats. Certain absurdities of an administrative nature also aggravate the personnel. A housing cooperative was established at the plant. There was so much talking about giving the green light for small cooperatives, at the same time, the cooperative promoters encountered enormous reluctance in the Provincial Union of Housing Cooperatives; also, an inexplicable delay occurred in the approval of the site of the cooperative construction.

Ryszard Kopka of the Nidzica Izolacja Construction Insulation Material Enterprise, expressed the opinion that it is not possible to begin talking about reform if the administration continues to be built up, including the central administration [of the union]. It is difficult to speak of reform insofar as there are no economic mechanisms in the plant to incline people toward more productive and qualitatively better work. People prefer to run away from the plant because, for example, in a cooperative labor movement, they will find more advantageous financial conditions. Also, the reform does not assure the plant of the capabilities for greater modernization. In the Izolacja Construction Insulation Material Enterprise, the fiber department has machines that are nearly completely worked out. About 1.8 billion zlotys are needed for the modernization of this department, whereas the plant capabilities are 32 million zlotys during the course of a year (with a production value of 2.8 billion zlotys). So, it is necessary--in the opinion of the representative of the Izolacja enterprise--to create some kinds of tax breaks for those plants where the machinery is completely worn out and where modernization is desired.

Maria Jankowska, secretary of the Craft Society Committee "Rzemioslo" of the PZPR, presented certain problems of this craft society. The general bad opinion about the handicrafts industry is wholly groundless especially as concerns Olsztyn Province. We are dealing with an inflowing handicrafts industry that has not managed to settle down yet, to say nothing about making money. In Olsztyn Province, there exist 3,791 handicraft establishments

employing 7,638 workers. So, statistically there are less than two workers per establishment. These establishments had a trade turnover level of about 3 billion zlotys last year. Practically nothing is wasted in the handicrafts establishments. The prices in the crafts are also not as ample as had been said. In Olsztyn Province, for example, part of the establishments use prices set by branch social committees on the basis of the average costs in the establishments of a given branch. These prices have remained unchanged since the autumn of 1982, in spite of the fact that costs have risen. Other establishments use individual calculations, but are controlled by the social commissions of the crafts associations. Finally, comrade Jankowska appealed for a more studied opinion on handicrafts. This concerns, of course, not only public opinion, but also the concrete actions of state organs, in short, concerning taxes. The efforts and risks invested in running an establishment have to pay off for the tradesman.

"So, if anyone wishes to know how work in the handicrafts establishments really looks, in the name of all the tradesmen, I extend to such a person my sincere invitation to come and visit us."

Wladyslaw Benc of the Ilawa Automotive Repair Plant [IZNS] broached the problem of the shortage of workers.

"In our plant," he stated, "there is a declining trend. Those who leave explain their decision by the low wages. It turns out that in other plants, with a lower labor input and less rigid discipline, it is possible to earn as much and even more."

The 1982 Council of Ministers resolution 186 caused embitterment among the IZNS personnel. As is known, those plants which recorded significant production growth in the second half of 1982 benefitted from it. But those, who maintained steady production the year around lost in the final analysis.

"It is said that the increase in wages has to be tied exclusively to labor productivity growth. However, it is necessary to take the starting point into consideration. For example, in the IZNS, the work is already well organized, and a significant rise in productivity is out of the question. Why do the good plants have to lose out?"

IZNS is famous through the entire province because of its building of engine components. Its annual [production] value amounts to about 70 million zlotys and is steadily growing. The development of building has made it possible to maintain the appropriate schedule of engine repairs, and at the same time, relieves the shortage-ridden spare parts market and saves funds, which would have to be allocated for the purchase of these parts. This year is supposed to bring an expansion of production from the scraps of 20 more items (40 items or so thus far) and the already mentioned gradual expansion of building.

Krzysztof Czestkowski--the representative of the "Mazury" Agricultural Combine in Szczytno, plant in Kamionek---presented the latest successes of his plant. In the 1981/82 farming year, the farm recorded losses of 7.5 million zlotys, whereas during the current farming year, at first, a 6 million zlotys loss was

planned. This plan was revised to 3.5 million zlotys' profit, whereas, everything indicates that the effects will be even better. These results were attained through decreased employment of labor.

"There are a lot of complaints about the shortage of tires and batteries. We do not have this problem, since the reconditioning of batteries and the rethreading of tires is a universal phenomenon in the combine."

Krzysztof Czestkowski, as a union activist, raised the matter of the distribution of the property left by the former trade unions. He stated that the division of this property without the participation of union activists is a misunderstanding.

Wincenty Szarmach of the Lubawa Elpan presented the problems of his plant. It has difficulties with the sales of its products, since many of its customers to date have not received their limits for the purchase of specialized equipment produced in Lubawa. The recent decision of the Polish National Bank in Ilawa to block the plant bank account has totally upset the personnel also.

"Where was the Polish National Bank during previous years," rhetorically asked W. Szarmach, "when the plant was being taken to pieces by its former director? Currently, we are trying to come out of the hole, and this kind of bank decision certainly will not help us."

Well, here is an individual case, but it is symptomatic. A worker benefits from increased family allowance. At a certain point he exceeds the upper limit of the income quota per member of a family by 69 zlotys, and in connection with this, he loses...800 zlotys of family allowance.

Andrzej Derment of the Northern Linen Industry Plant (Lenpol) in Szczytno described in brief the route of the plant from a subsidized firm to a profitable firm. Less and less is being wasted in Lenpol and the yield of fiber from the raw material has been raised by nearly 100 percent. The seeds and the harls are being used. During the current year, it is intended to make briquettes out of the unused wastes, which will be used as fuel in boiler rooms. This will permit the saving of 1,500-2,000 tons of coal annually.

Andrzej Porczynski--the first secretary of the plant committee of the PZPR in the PGR Satopy [Satopy State Farm]--stated that the reform that had affected the PGR itself earliest, and set into motion a mechanism making possible an increase in the production of plants and livestock. The structure of repairs was corrected, and care of machinery is better. As A. Porczynski stated, his state farm would already be profitable were it not for the encumbrance with installment payments and deductions from large industrialized farms, which were inherited from the "Agrokomplex" association. The speaker called attention that the taxes in agriculture should be differentiated according to the types of soil.

A serious problem for agriculture continues to be land improvement. Land improvement work is conducted basically only for maintaining the current status. In the case of the PGR Satopy, because of the lack of two pumps (which

the WZIR is searching for all over Poland), several hundreds of hectares of good soil is under water.

Zbigniew Krasinski of the Polish State Railroads Junction in Ilawa expressed the opinion that the times of unrest have passed, never to return, but the day-to-day troubles remain. One of the greatest is that of housing, especially for young people. The anticipated level of cooperative and rental outlays are stirring controversy. And those who received the sought for keys, in turn have great difficulty with the basic furnishing of dwellings. The speaker also presented the economization program of the railroads. Among other things, it concerns the reduction of the deadheading of locomotives without cars, the elimination of damages at the time of marshalling, and the extension of the between-repairs running period.

Jerzy Borek of the PGR Bartoszyce listed the most serious roadblocks in the development of the socialization of agriculture. Among them are: improper land improvement, lack of agricultural chemicals, and especially, the shortage of people, caused mainly by the lack of housing. As an example, the Klinkajny Agricultural Plant, because of the lack of housing, is unable to provide for the very tending of the barns. In connection with this, the herd of livestock is being reduced. Dwellings were to have been built there, and the documentation had already been drawn up. For several years, the construction could not get into the plan, and during that time, the documentation managed to become outdated.

And as far as economization is concerned, the most important activity of the PGR Bartoszyce is its self-sufficiency in the repair of machinery.

Piotr Abramowicz of the Ketrzyn Polan-Farel Electric Bulb Plant only broached one problem, but one of fundamental importance: the steel supply. At the beginning of March, the plant received the news that it will be supplied steel by "Centrostal" in Olsztyn. Until now, the plant was supplied by the same firm in Katowice. Of course, the Polan-Farel order from Katowice for 900 tons was withdrawn. However, the Olsztyn wholesale firm "acknowledged" 180 tons. The remainder disappeared somewhere.

Zbigniew Luczak of the Olsztyn Engineering Work Enterprises spoke about the general underestimation of the engineering community. Its representatives have nothing to say about matters that they are most knowledgeable of. The result of this is inadequately developed or patently erroneous decisions.

Kazimierz Olesiak, vice-minister of finance, also spoke. He asserted that worry over the full realization of the 3-year plan, including also the economization and anti-inflation program was reflected, both from the report and from the statements of the discussants.

It is a fact, that we are beginning to come out of the depths of the crisis. Industrial production is increasing slowly, but evidently. For the current year, we assume an increase in the national income of 2 percent, whereas in 1985, we expect it to be 12 percent already. One of the methods of attaining this increase is economization. It is true, as some one of the discussants



stated, that all of us ought to economize without plans or programs; it should be our everyday habit. Unfortunately, that is now how it is. In the program, we are assuming a 2-5 percent economization of raw and other materials and energy. If we were successful in attaining this, then after 3 years, we would have saved about 200 billion zlotys. And if we succeeded in addition to realize the anti-inflation program, then we will save an additional 100 billion zlotys. Both of these programs literally have a life-or-death meaning for us. It is necessary to be well aware of this.

Vice-minister Olesiak also described certain aspects of the new economic system in enterprises. He affirmed that many of them had abused their independence, for example, by raising their prices excessively. So, the government had to undertake actions that were basically contrary to the spirit of reform, but were necessary under the concrete circumstances: The right to form contract prices was withdrawn for some enterprises.

The basic matter today is the correlation of the wage system with the productivity and quality of labor. In this period, the reform has not yet managed to work out an effective system. Partial solutions are being introduced. For example, during the current year, the principle is to be introduced whereas when there is a decrease in production costs, the income tax is automatically lowered, in such a way as not to exceed 65 percent of the profit. Also, tax breaks will be introduced in cases where the funds from the developmental fund are insufficient for the necessary modernization. This will be evaluated, among others, by the treasury chambers.

The minister, replying to the statement of Andrzej Proczynski of the PGR Satopy, explained that the credits that the PGR drew for the construction of large farms that are not in use today do not have to be paid up until after 5 years. In this connection, the nonuse of the huge farms built in past years ought not affect the current situations of agricultural enterprises.

In closing, minister Olesiak assured those gathered that he would conscientiously present all of the conclusions and comments to the Council of Ministers.

At the conclusion, Jan Laskowski, First Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Olsztyn, spoke.

"Today's discussion has fulfilled my expectations," he said. "I knew that the people working in production are down-to-earth people, and on the whole, are well aware of what they are concerned with. This has been confirmed today. It seems to me, that the managements of plants are not telling the truth to their personnel everywhere. This kind of leading people into error is impermissible, and party organization ought to get deeply involved in this."

And now, down to the facts of the matter--to the activity of the enterprises. I will not evaluate whether the taxes are too high, or too low. However, I would like to emphasize that last year, the enterprises last year had an additional result per saldo, whereas the state budget was on the deficit side. And the fact that the enterprises lack funds, this is also true, in the same

way that practically every citizen lacks money. In 1982, the labor productivity as compared to 1978 amounted to only 73 percent, whereas, consumption amounted 83 percent. This means that a shift in national income distribution began in the direction of consumption. It is no wonder, therefore, as some of the comrades stated here, that machines in factories are falling apart. Simply speaking, there is already not enough for the purchase of investment goods. We all know the reasons: the mistakes of the 1970's, the disorganization of the economy in 1980-1981, and then the wage decisions of last year. One has to realize that this does not concern the holding back of incomes, but what it means is that these incomes derive from work and not from finagling and figure juggling. The only way to correct the situation of the country, and all of us as well, is an increase in production. It must occur in spite of worse circumstances. Simply speaking, we have to find the significant part of the capacity for production increase in economization.

It was stated here that young people cannot afford housing. I would then wish to recall, what comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said on this matter at the recent nationwide conference of the worker aktiv. He formulated the slogan for the youth to undertake work on the free Saturdays, and to earmark the money earned in this way for housing. In turn, the work establishments would designate the income from this additional production for the housing fund. It appears, that in the conditions of Olsztyn Province, it would be possible to organize youth brigades for work in forests. The front for work there is practically limitless, and the extra hands would very much come in handy.

In concluding, comrade Laskowski stated that the realization of the program will be possible only with the full involvement of all citizens. We must find within ourselves, not only the desire to work, but also much perseverance. If it happens like this, then before long, such subjects as the crisis or the inflation will be nothing more than subjects of stories to tell our children and grandchildren.

#### Jan Malinowski's Speech at Aktiv Meeting

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZYTYSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Slightly abridged speech by Jan Malinowski, secretary of the Olsztyn Province Committee of the PZPR, at the Provincial Conference of the worker aktiv and management personnel in Olsztyn on 6 Apr 83]

[Text] After the 9th Congress, the Olsztyn Province party organization has consistently taken up social-political problems. However, there were also those people who were proposing a specific division of work: let the party occupy itself with politics, and let the administration concern itself with the economy. We have never accepted such views. Even more so, it is worth referring to the speech given by comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the nationwide conference of the worker aktiv, and especially to the statement: "The economic front, as never before, is also a political front in our country." The awareness of this truth has to be universal. On the economic front, in spite of the great difficulties emerging, we must adopt realistic tasks that mobilize us for the future. These have to be tasks serving the interests of the working

people. This will make possible a fundamental improvement of the political situation, in comparison with the situation of a dozen or so months ago.

The management cadre is making increasingly better use of the solutions of the economic reform. Numerous plant party organizations and basic echelons of the PZPR have become strengthened. In our province, we have essentially finished the process of forming worker self-governments. Worker councils exist at 205 enterprises. The trade union movement is also overcoming difficulties and being rejuvenated. To date, the court has registered 444 trade unions. There exist 775 founding committees and initiation groups. The trade union movement in our province numbers over 66,000 members, which is about 28 percent of the employees in the socialized economy.

The economic situation of the province is improving gradually. The evaluations presented at the Provincial Reports-Programs Conference of the PZPR in Olsztyn on 29 January of this year, and at the Plenum of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR on 3 March, are completely up to date. The latest statistical data also confirm that in comparison with the same period of last year, industrial production is a dozen or so percentage points higher. During the first quarter, construction organizations turned over more housing than during the same 1982 period, although they satisfied the needs of a mere 600 families. Trade is moving along better, but simultaneously, severe gaps in commodities are appearing, mainly in the area of industrial items. Transport is becoming an ever more sensitive element of the economy. The economic ratios between production, employment, labor productivity, and wages point out the necessity and the possibility for improving them.

At today's party-economic conference, we ought to make an evaluation of various economic phenomena in the province, indicate the possibilities for the reduction of manufacturing costs, for curtailing manifestations of inflation, and for increasing production, and savings. The initiation of these is the concern of self-government personnel and managements of work establishments. This is also a great social-political task, which we shall realize only under conditions of social agreement.

Last year was an exceptionally difficult test. Many enterprises took advantage of the possibilities created by the economic reform. The Lubawa Industrial Clothing Plant in Lubawa deserves to be singled out among others. In this plant, labor productivity during the past year relative to 1981 rose by 32.3 percent, and the average wage increased by 21.3 percent. For every point of labor productivity increase, wages rose 0.7 point. There are more examples of very close rates of increase of wages and labor productivity for 1982. Among those this applies to are: "Warnia" in Ketrzyn, the Refrigeration Enterprise in Olsztyn, the "Unitra-Cemi" Plant in Szczytno, the "Wardom" Labor Cooperative in Olsztyn, the Agricultural Construction Engineering Work Enterprise in Olsztyn, the Agricultural Construction Enterprise in Bartoszyce, and some others.

A numerous group stands out in which labor productivity decreased and wages rose. Among those who have to be listed as such are: The PZZ State Grain Elevators Enterprise in Olsztyn, with a labor productivity of 75 percent, and wages, 126, the "Mewa" Labor Cooperative in Olsztyn, a labor productivity of

78 percent, and wages by 137 percent, the Poultry Plant, 77 and 125 percent respectively, the Agricultural Construction Enterprise [PBRol] in Ostroda, with an 81 percent labor productivity and 125 percent wages, the Public Services Construction Enterprise [PBK] in Olsztyn, respectively 68 and 120 percent. Unfortunately, this list can be extended significantly.

In the materials of the inspection conducted by the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control], we read: "An example of the level of improper ratios causing inflation is the accounting of profit for the 1981/1982 year in the District Domestic Livestock Trading Enterprise in Olsztyn. In this enterprise, with a steep drop in the realization of its assignments in natural units in comparison to the previous year, 56.8 million zlotys of profit was attained as against a planned 35.9 million zlotys (158 percent). From the distribution of the profit, in December 1982, 11.4 million zlotys were paid to the account of the bonus fund, which caused a considerable increase in the average wage. The average wage (without compensation or equivalents from the collective labor system), increased from 7,890 zlotys for 1980/1981 to 11,865 zlotys for 1981/1982. It ought to be stressed that the above plan profit occurred mainly as a result of the receipt of subsidies..." In another place, the NIK Representation in Olsztyn asserts: "The use, in a number of agricultural service units, of the collective labor system in the PRG does not facilitate a more just settlement of the results of the crisis. From this account, the employees in these units draw artificial and unjustified benefits in the form of high monetary equivalents for potatoes and milk (the equivalent for potatoes is 27,000 zlotys, and for milk, about 10,000 zlotys annually)."

In the light of the data cited, the general survey of various types of privileges that has been predicted by the central government is necessary. As a result of such a survey, certainly, examples of privileges that are not justified by the state of our economy, and do not even find affirmation in the principles of social justice will be found.

In spite of difficulty, we must improve planning in all units and at all levels. For, a good plan is a condition for the appropriate organization of work. Good plans are most badly needed for enterprises. But we have a lot that has to be done from this standpoint. Let the example of the PKS [State Motor Transport] Branch in Szczytno serve as an illustration.

The above-named PKS branch in 1982 worked out 3 versions of plans in May, September, and December. Each time, the quantity of production sold was reduced. It is interesting that for the 11 months, sales were attained that were already 12 million zlotys higher than the quantity of planned sales in the December version of the plan for the entire year. The financial result planned in December closed with a loss of 21 million zlotys, in spite of the fact that for the 11 months, a profit of 18 million zlotys had been attained. The year closed with a profit of 18 million zlotys, thanks to high subsidies. The subsidies were so high, that the PKS branch did not even have to make use of bank credit.

We share the opinion about the ease with which bank credit can be obtained. Last year, the principle of partnership between banks and enterprises was

implemented, but many enterprises were getting credits for every occasion. In general, this leads to low utilization of the credits provided, for example, the Public Roads District in Szczytno hardly used 16 percent of its credit. For this reason, also, we have to eliminate the profligation of credit, since excessive credits, which in addition are not covered by with a mass of goods, services and raw material and producer goods supplies, are one of the sources of inflation.

In some economic units, fiscal and accounting services did not pay attention to the proper ordering of financial reporting, but before their auditing, high expenditures of awards from profit were made. The investigation of these reports by specialists from outside the enterprises, in many cases, brought about essential changes in the size of the profits set, the taxes deducted, etc.

So, let us have some concrete examples. The Construction Combine in Olsztyn, as a result of outside inspection, had to increase the value of the reassessed reserves by 18 million zlotys. The Agroma Agricultural Machinery Trade Enterprise in Olsztyn increased production costs by 24.8 million zlotys, and lowered the payments of taxes by 23.1 million zlotys. The Ketrzyn Construction Enterprise, as a result of reassessment of its reserves, achieved a reduction of taxes in favor of the budget in the amount of 6.5 million zlotys.

We attach great significance to the realization of our own policy of tax breaks. For example, during the first half of 1982, the Izolacja Construction Insulation Materials Enterprise in Nidzica attained a considerably greater profit than had been planned. Instead of reinforcing its developmental fund much more, a general increase in wages was effected. The finance bodies relieved the enterprise from turning, in favor of the budget, the sum of 22.7 million zlotys on account of the improperly set controlled prices for rockwool products. During the current year, the enterprise is again initiating efforts to obtain tax relief.

According to the current versions of the plans of enterprises, a number of economic units are initiating the maintenance of improper tendencies in the area of increasing emoluments. The high planned deductions for the PFAZ [State Vocational-Activization Fund] bear witness to this. Especially striking disproportions between the growth in production and wage rise are evident in cooperatives, for example the following GS [Rural Commune Cooperatives]: Barczewo, Olsztynek, Jonkowo, Stawiguda; the labor cooperatives: "Mews," "Technochemia," "Unipral," "Metalowiec," and the "Jurand" Multibranch Handicrafts Cooperative in Szczytno.

The efforts of personnel and management of enterprises directed toward the attainment of higher production is deserving of acknowledgement. On the basis of initial analyses of the plans of social-economic enterprises for 1983, it has been confirmed that the independently established tasks are to amount to:

--In industry as a whole, an increase of about 15 percent of sold products; of this number, 15.8 percent is accounted for by centralized industry, and 13.7 by cooperatives. The number is 23 percent in transportation and communications.

We would like it for these tasks to signify a real growth in production and services and not be the results of calculations in current prices.

In some branches, the planned growth is lower. This applies, for example, to the food industry. The plans assume an increase in the value of sales of products by 7.1 percent, an increase in agricultural construction of 9.6 percent, and a 15.8 percent increase in the technical farm servicing units. In forestry and the lumber industry, a maintenance of sales on the 1982 level is anticipated with a simultaneous significant reduction in inventories. This kind of approach in this branch cannot satisfy us either. Because, all kinds of data exist to the effect that this production ought to be significantly greater. Only one argument ought to suffice--the possession of large reserves of raw materials for almost immediate use. Last year's determinations of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR relative to forestry and the lumber industry are still in effect.

State farms are planning an increase in sales during the 1982/1983 farming year, by 39 percent as compared with the previous year. However, they are forecasting a worsening of the financial result. So, it is necessary to make use of the possibilities of attaining this result at an acceptable level.

On 3 March of 1983, the Provincial Committee of the party reviewed the problems of housing construction and construction auxiliary to housing. The directions of activities adopted at that time have not gone out of date, but are even more to the moment. We count on the consistent and effective realization of the provincial program of housing construction.

Great possibilities for improving the economic situation are contained in the improvement of the operation of the investment front. It is sufficient to say, that the value of the estimated total of investment outlays in the socialized economy of Olsztyn Province amounts to 55.3 billion zlotys. The outlays already carried out have a value of 27.9 billion zlotys. In 1982, investment outlays amounted to over 16 billion zlotys. The basic production of construction and installation enterprises in 1982 was expressed by the sum of 12.4 billion zlotys.

The figures given show that one percent of the estimated value of realized investment outlays exceeds 500 million zlotys. Therefore it is necessary to find an appropriate reduction in the initially budgeted investment outlays for individual tasks. The accelerated completion of construction under way is also highly effective.

In 1982, the unutilized outlays for machinery and equipment amounted to 828 billion zlotys. The majority of these machines were purchased for investment projects that have been suspended. About 3.2 percent is accounted for by unneeded machinery and equipment, and 5.9 percent of the unutilized equipment was brought in for investments that were not undertaken. The investors, the enterprises, the founding bodies, and the banks ought to conduct an analysis of these particular reserves and take the appropriate decisions, in conformity with their areas of jurisdiction. We cannot afford the luxury of useless storage of machinery and equipment.

In 1982, it was expected to put into operation capital construction projects with a cost-estimate value of 10.3 billion zlotys, but the plan was realized by 80.5 percent. The main reason for this state of affairs is the chronically inadequate utilization of the potential of the construction and installation enterprises.

The most serious disruption in basic production took place in the following enterprises: PBK Olsztyn--61.7 percent of the 1981 level; PBRol in Lidzbark Warminski--77.8 percent, and PBRol in Ostroda--79.1 percent. A number of other enterprises did not attain the 1981 level of construction and installation production.

The undertakings of the Enterprise for Building Repair and Maintenance (OPRI) in Olsztyn deserve to be publicized widely. In the enterprise, a group for economic affairs matters is in operation that has three commissions: incentives and wages, which conducts reviews of the levels and rules for wages and bonuses; a cost-price commission, with an assignment for finding additional cost reductions, including overall costs; and a construction cost-effectiveness commission.

Representatives of the workers council, which is turning into a trade union, the PZiTB [Polish Union of Construction Engineers and Technicians], and the PTE [Polish Economic Society] are active in the commissions. The fact is worth emphasizing that cost reductions are being sought out, in spite of the fact that this is already a relatively low-cost contractor.

Within the framework of the work that has been undertaken currently in the construction enterprises, we ought to concern ourselves with the introduction of reforms on the construction sites. The greatest possibilities for reducing construction costs exist on the construction sites and in the design offices.

Pursuant to the Sejm Resolution dated 29 December 1982 on the matter of balance of payments for 1983, it is planned that during the current year, Poland's foreign debt will increase by an estimated 315 billion zlotys. For the purpose of reining in the rate of foreign indebtedness, a rapider growth rate of exports than of imports is anticipated. The economy of Olsztyn Province had a certain part to play in improving the country's payments situation.

In 1982, exports from our province exceeded a value of 6.9 billion zlotys. A further considerable growth is assumed for the current year. The economic sanctions against Poland are limiting the possibilities for exports to the capitalist countries, but in spite of this, we sold these clients goods for a sum over 3.1 billion zlotys.

Fundamental progress was made in trade with socialist countries, especially with the USSR. Forty-six economic units are exporting their products to socialist countries, and the main supplies are: The Olsztyn Furniture Factory, the Bartoszyce "Morena," and the Ketrzyn "Warmia."

The enterprises concerned indicate that they prefer export production as being more remunerative. Therefore, in our work on the basic anti-inflation and economization programs, the search for possibilities of export growth as a

result of significant increase of production of high quality turned out ought to occupy an important place. Last year, we achieved measurable results in the limitation of requirements for the import of raw materials and spare parts. This direction of finding ways ought to be developed.

It is estimated that during the current 3-year plan, the increase in employment in Poland may amount to about 100,000 persons. Estimates to date of the need for increasing employment only in education already exceed this number. Industrial, construction and enterprises, as well as enterprises of socialized agriculture and forestry, trade organizations, education facilities and health service facilities, crafts and service establishments, and in some cases, even administrative units are indicating an employment deficit.

The enterprises, except for a few exceptional cases, will have no place from which to draw new workers. The information on the situation on the labor market and on its development in the future makes this quite clear. For example, according to the status at the end of February 1983, 283 persons looking for work were recorded, of this number: 230 in Ilawa, 68 in Lidzbark Warminski, and 30 in Morag. The number of job openings at that time was 4,123. It was over 70 percent higher in comparison with February 1982. About 85.5 percent of the jobs reported to the local employment and social affairs departments derived from labor turnover.

The evaluation of the situation in the area of employment and the labor market in our territory leads to the conclusion that labor productivity ought to increase faster than material production. The following are some of the things that could serve this purpose:

- Intraplant changes in employment structure based on the reduction of the administrative overhead.

- Greater utilization of the standard work hours.

- Improvement of the organization, discipline, and quality of work.

- Real incentive systems for plants.

- Improvement of industrial safety and hygiene and social conditions in work establishments.

A specific important problem is the appropriate limitation of employment in local administration. The appropriate analyses and decisions concerning employment in this area will take place in May of the current year.

We are taking into consideration that employment efficiency measures are an undertaking that is just as necessary as it is highly complex. Therefore it must be carried out with the greatest care in a proper manner.

The possibilities for a high growth in labor productivity is attested to by the results of certain enterprises that were attained in 1982, as compared with the year before. In the Ketrzyn "Warmia," labor productivity grew 30 percent,



and in the Lubawa Industrial Clothing Plant in Lubawa, this figure was 32.3 percent. In the Agricultural Construction Enterprise (PBRol) in Bartoszyce, this indicator rose 55.6 percent, whereas in the Olsztyn Industrial Construction Enterprise, it was 12.2 percent.

The correct functioning of the material and technical supply system of enterprises depends upon many conditions and factors. We estimate, that our economy could afford to rapidly work up a better system than what is in operation now. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that the Olsztyn "Centrostal" can supply only one-fifth and sometimes even a smaller percentage of the requirements for metallurgical products for many major producers. For example, the requirements of "Polan-Farel" for products of the metallurgical industry, in particular for plates, are to be met by 19 percent. In many items of construction material, the deficit amounts to from 30 to 40 percent and over. This also applies to those produced in our province.

It is our obligation to report on the proposals adopted for improving the supply system. Here are some conclusions:

1. All of the enterprises that have the Olsztyn Provincial governor as the founder must be supplied in material centers on the territory of Olsztyn Province, and this has to be in one center within the scope of individual materials.
2. It is an abnormality that the Chemia Chemical Products Trade Enterprise [PHCh "Chemia"] in Olsztyn be engaged only in the supply of general purposes paints, and that it is necessary to travel to Warsaw or to Gliwice for special paints. This also applies to pumps and couplings, which Gdansk distributes.
3. Quarterly allocations, as long as the allocation method is necessary, ought to be turned over at least a month before the quarter by the trade center. In consequence of this, the realization of the allocations ought to follow.
4. Realistic annual allocations of materials ought to be established that would be approved by the suppliers and the producers for the appropriate centers.
5. The consideration of the above-noted conclusions will make it possible for the enterprises to more realistically plan their tasks and the methods for realizing them, both within the framework of a year or of a quarter. Currently, some enterprises are planning the realization of tasks without having the minimum information about anticipated material supply.

Many raw and other materials are free trade items. With respect to this part of supply, the level of supplies depends upon the efficiency of the enterprise supply services. In many economic units, these services received recognition by the workforces for their hard and effective work. We also direct our thanks to the supply people who do good work.

The possibilities of economization--differentiated as to scale and type--are everywhere: in production, transport, trade, in the nonproduction area, and in home industries. We are faced with the task of such a further improvement

of the solutions of economic reform so that the trend in favor of economization would be something of a natural process, which would develop without special actions and hasty measures.

Before today's conference, we asked a number of enterprises to indicate the causes that are inhibiting the realization of economization measures. In the responses, the conclusion was repeated that the profit deriving from cutting production costs not be treated the same, income taxwise, as profit that is the result of price increase. What the enterprise and personnel are concerned with is the creation of concrete incentives for economization.

This kind of need is convincingly illustrated by the example given by the Transport-Communications Equipment Enterprise No. 8 in Olsztyn. The driver receives 85 percent of the value of the fuel saved. To this sum, the enterprise adds the ZUS [Social Security Agency] contribution, the tax on awards, and the tax to the account of the State Vocational Activization Fund (PFAZ). It is calculated that altogether, the economization of one liter of fuel by the driver costs the enterprise as much as 200 zlotys. According to data from the enterprise of the PKS [State Motor Transport], the saved fuel costs the plant 2.5-3 times more than its official price. We are not concerned here about the precision of the calculations provided, but on the principle involved. The personnel and the enterprise ought to profit directly from savings. In spite of the current disadvantageous economic solutions, the achievement of savings in fuel and energy is a fact in many enterprises. The necessity for changes in the regulations in force in this area does not arouse our doubts either.

In the development of the process of economization, the role increases, above all, of the enterprises. It can be stated here that the Ilawa Construction Enterprise (IPB), as a result of using elements with unsuitable insulation for the installation of dwellings, subsequently had to remove the defects that were so aggravating for the tenants in about 500 dwellings, for about 10 million zlotys. In the future such outlays will not be necessary since IPB has arranged it so that the House Factory in Ilawa has begun the production of elements with higher warming capacity.

Recently, we have been hearing much about the possibilities for improving the supply of the market as a result of the reduction of losses in agriculture and the food industry. In just the Olsztyn Refrigeration Industry Enterprise, during 1977-1982, there occurred a deficit of 86.9 tons of beef and 167 tons of pork and fish, and material losses exceeded 15 million zlotys.

As a result of improper procurement price ratios for wheat and oats, estimating carefully, the national economy lost about 30,000 tons of food wheat in Olsztyn Province from the 1982 harvests, and this wheat was redesignated as fodder.

A couple of local visits to the construction sites in Olsztyn for the Jarota settlement showed that from 37 to 94 percent of the heavy equipment was not operating. On 16 January 1983, in Ketrzyn, of the five bulldozers of the Olsztyn OPGMB [Olsztyn Enterprise for Housing Management and Construction (?)] one was doing effective work. Of four excavators, not a one was operating.

The State Trade Inspectorate (PIH) disclosed examples of wastefulness in some retail trade establishments, restaurants, and specific production plants. The most frequently encountered irregularities in the activity encompassed by the PIH inspection consists of the lowering of the true utility value as compared to the declared quality. This means that it is possible to make products out of used raw materials that are many times better than products from procured raw materials.

The examples that have been presented so far show that there exist considerable possibilities for economizing on material factors. Many enterprises have advanced far in the saving of raw and other materials. This applies, among others to the Olsztyn Automotive Tire Plant, the Lubawa Industrial Clothing Plant, the Mazurska Mafag Mining Machine Factory in Morag, "Warmia" in Ketrzyn, "Morena" in Bartoszyce, the IZNS [Ilawa Automotive Repair Plant] in Ilawa, and some labor cooperatives, disabled persons cooperatives, and other economic units.

We must convert economization into a permanent trait of our economic operations. From the standpoint of such a need, we ought to conduct a study of technology, at times making use even of earlier known solutions that had been withdrawn from production. Thanks to this, then we can many times over adapt ourselves to a growth in production and the better utilization of the existing potential.

It is necessary to support the innovator's movement comprehensively and develop it. This movement is always an unutilized opportunity. We have to decide to change the existing status into something better and more effective through the joint efforts of workers, engineers, and technicians.

An important role in the system of anti-inflation undertakings falls to the personnel of the work establishments of our province. In 1982, inspections of the District Price Administration in Olsztyn brought about a reduction of 254 prices in Olsztyn Province for a sum over 283 million zlotys. The plants that were inspected turned over over 26 million zlotys to the state budget, also, since these sums were obtained on the account of price increases.

Many enterprises have reduced the prices of their production, on their own initiatives. For example, the Olsztyn Furniture Factory, the Provincial Heat Energy Enterprise, the Olsztyn Engineering Work Enterprise, the Ilawa Automotive Repair Plant, and the Polam-Farel Electric Bulb Plant in Ketrzyn.

A numerous group of enterprises also stood out that handed a high level of prices relative to the costs incurred. Among these, the following have to be mentioned:

--The Agricultural Construction Enterprise in Morag, which, with a basic production amounting to 315 million zlotys, paid 57.8 million zloties income and stabilization tax.

--The District Land Improvement Enterprise in Mragowo evaluated its basic production at 322.5 million. From this sum, 78.2 million zlotys had to go for the income and stabilization tax.

The truth about the fact that the raising of prices does not bring particular advantages to enterprises has not been spread around sufficiently. The efforts to raise prices are evident also during the current year. For example, the Mazurskie Plywood Industry Plant in Morag attained a profitability in 1982 of from 83 to 181 percent in the production of softwood, ash, and beech plywood and other varieties. During the first quarter of 1983, the enterprise raised the plywood prices an average of from 11 to 17 percent, which will have an influence on furniture prices.

The Disabled Persons Metal Cooperative "Gwarancja" in Olsztyn reached a profitability of 15-59 percent in 1982 for the production of table scales and canisters. During the first quarter of 1983, the cooperative raised the prices of the above-named products by from 43 to 72 percent.

The reasons for a rise in prices are different. One of them, which is particularly reprehensible, can be encountered in the example of the Dairy Industry Repair and Installation Plant in Lidzbark Warminski. The plant attained a profitability for repaired compressors of from 77 to 192 percent, with the indicator adopted for the 1982 plan at a level of 21 percent. The achievement of such a high profitability was caused, among other things, by the inclusion in the contract price of materials, which in actuality were not installed in the repaired compressors.

In 1982, the District Price Administration inspected the proper procedure of setting prices in 26 economic units in Olsztyn Province. Various irregularities in the area of price setting were confirmed in 21 economic organizations.

In the light of the aforementioned data, the basic problem of pricing policy ought to be found in the center of concern of organs of the enterprises, the trade unions, and party organizations. Also, the open, effective, activated operation of plant commissions for matters of cost analyses, prices, and production quality is necessary.

The proper realization of the basic price policy ought to be spread about on a wider scale in the mass media.

In March of the current year, the secretariat of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR adopted a graphic schedule of the complex, intensive activities of social-political and specialized institutions of the state serving for the limitation and elimination of unfavorable phenomena, defined by the name of social pathology. Progress in the realization of the aforescribed tasks by the schedule will be checked every 3 months. We are treating the combatting of this pathology as a universal task, since it is a contradiction to the principle of social justice.

During the first quarter of the current year, a number of speculation and tax reduction crimes were uncovered. However, these are not isolated cases of effecting such reductions in the field of handicrafts and private trade. Here are some examples:

--J.W. of Mragowo carried out a tax reduction in the amount of 183,000 zlotys.

--T.K. of Olsztyn concealed the actual trade turnover, and made himself a reduction in taxes of 884,000 zlotys.

--Z.O. of Nidzica did not meet the conditions for the use of the tax relief form of taxation. The tax reduction amounted to 447,000 zlotys, and the person involved paid the sum of 330,000 zlotys in cash to the account of the taxes after inspection was conducted.

--B.S. of Olsztyn did not meet the requirements for tax relief for a period of 2 years. The tax reduction amounted to 280,000 zlotys.

--A.S. of Mragowo attained a considerably higher turnover for 1982, relative to the established sum, and the reduced tax exceeded 1.0 million zlotys.

So, it is necessary to pay attention to the self-government of handicrafts and private trade and services concerning such activities, so that the law binding in this sector be fully adhered to. All of us are responsible for the proper taxation of economic activity, including the activity also that is conducted on a private account.

Let us go over to the advance on the economic front. It consists of three stages: 1. The elucidation of the goals and determining factors of the development of our social-economic life. 2. The discussion in work establishments of the adoption and realization of the basic social-economic programs together with anti-inflation and economization activity. 3. Follow-up and evaluation of the tasks undertaken.

In the explanatory work, we have to bring the following truths, among others, into a permanent place in the social consciousness:

--The trade unions and worker self-managements, relative to the norms of the state law, have to become comanagers of the work establishments.

--The anti-inflation and economization programs, by virtue of the fact that they serve to bring back market equilibrium above all, by way of increased goods on the market, are subordinate to the interests of working people.

--The basic incentive systems must promote the efficiency of work, and a just payment for the work.

--In economic activity, an increase in labor productivity, an increase of production for the market for export, and for the needs of agriculture, and the food industry, the development of all types of appropriate economization, and the elimination of the production of poor quality products are acquiring decisive significance.

--There is no turning back from economic reform, but the problem exists of its further improvement on the scale of the enterprise and that state, and also over the local level.

--Except for the party, its allies, and the signatories of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, there are no social-political forces, nor will there be any that are capable of representation, and even more so, of realization of a constructive program for leading Poland out of the crisis.

--The forces of world imperialism are imposing an arms race, among other reasons, in order to force us to allocate greater outlays for national defense needs. This kind of help is not needed by us and the world.

The true and sincere presentation of problems, needs, and possibilities is the only sensible basis for carrying out dialog with the work forces. We expect that in the near future, meetings of the basic party organizations in work establishments will take place with the participation of the broad aktiv, with respect to the agreements adopted in enterprises and other basic levels. At meetings of the worker councils, which will be devoted to the study and adoption of suitable basic social-economic programs, representatives of financing banks and founder organs will take part. The draft programs prepared by the directors and boards of cooperatives will gain additional clarification as a result of this.

The governor, the mayor, and the heads of cities and gminas are preparing appropriately for the study by the national councils with respect to local programs. We would like the social-economic tasks of the province, the cities, the town-and-gmina, and the gmina adopted for the current year to continue to be up to date.

The well-prepared draft basic and local social-economic programs, which include anti-inflation and economization undertakings, ought to be reviewed by worker councils, cooperative councils, and national councils. We are counting on the fact that many such programs will be adopted finally at least in April of 1983, or in May at the latest.

In explaining needs, working out conceptual plans of programs, and in realizing them, we are counting on the good, involved work of the party organizations and echelons of the PZPR, allied party forces, managements, and administrations, worker councils and cooperative councils, youth and women's organizations, the PRON, the NOT [Chief Technical Organization], the PTE [Polish Economic Society], the TNOiK [Scientific Society of Organization and Administration] associations, the Association of Polish Accountants, the WKTiR [Provincial Technology and Rationalization Club], and many other institutions and organizations. We adjudge that places in this work that are worthy of socialist science will fall to the scientific personnel of the Academy of Agricultural Technology, the Higher Pedagogical School, and other scientific establishments.

The joining together of social involvement and science, and the experience of the management personnel ought to bring about the expected results. The management personnel will assure, and at this time, prove that they are capable of solving the most difficult problems.

In June of 1983, at the session of the Executive of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, we intend to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the results of

the work that are to be carried out in the plants, enterprises, cooperatives, local agencies, and national councils in April and May.

May we continuously and everywhere have with us the realization that the work is decisive for our future, for success on the most important front, the economic front.

#### Work Force on Aktiv Program

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by M.L., (taf): "After the Warsaw Conference: The Government Programs in the Evaluation of the Work Forces"; Direct reporting]

[Text] Serious discussions in work establishments, offices and homes are taking place now concerning the draft program for countering inflation and for economization. For the contents of these programs affects all of society and each citizen individually.

The course of the discussions thus far shows that the working class is giving support to the government programs, seeing in them an opportunity for rescuing the economy from the calamitous effects of the crisis. However, this does not mean that they are accepting them without reservations. Many critical voices, reservations, and doubts have been voiced before the program authors. One of them is the apprehension of whether these programs have any chance of being realized or whether they will remain a collection of pious wishes, as many other documents of this type have become.

It was also mentioned that the public wants to work well, such voices were also heard during the Warsaw meeting, but specific conditions have to be fulfilled. These are good work organization, adequate supplies of raw and other materials, and realistic incentive system, that links wage increase to work results.

The workers frequently emphasize that they are ready to bear the costs of coming out of the crisis, but under the condition, that these will be fairly applied to all of society. Fairly means that those who have more, and this applied especially to the nonsocialized sector, must bear greater burdens.

The members of the Economic Commission of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Poznan expressed themselves in a similar vein, stating that the anti-inflation and economization program is not directed against the public, but is addressed mainly to work establishments. It is there that the national income is formed that is the source of providing for the entire economy.

However, it was emphasized that the cause of the intensifying inflation is the departure from the principles of reform last year. The cause of this is the already quite notorious Resolution No. 186, which brought more harm than benefit. In the opinion of the discussants, the use of the production and financial results of enterprises for the year before as a basis for comparison was a grave error. The directors of plants knew about this kind of decision

relatively early, and each of them managed to attain the best possible results, not only in the production area, but above all, in the wage fund, in order to gain the best initial base.

The representative of the Academy of Economics in Poznan called attention, for example, to the fact that in the anti-inflation program, it is possible to read through formulations taken word for word from the period when the directive-distribution system was still mandatory. For example, it states that enterprises ought to strive to exceed the plan assignments. He also expressed the apprehension as to whether the plans of enterprises are connected with the government programs. In his opinion, the minister of finance should not have the right, also, to flexible setting of turnover taxes, as is anticipated in the anti-inflation program, because the enterprises ought to know the rules of the game, which have to be stable.

Much was also said about the wage system itself. One of the discussants made use of the following anecdote: In Poland, a worker asks the foreman why he did not receive a bonus, whereas in the West, he asks what he has to do in order to obtain a bonus. And in his opinion, this is the kind of incentive system there should be.

It was also stated that little space is devoted in the economization program to the problem of reduction of central and local administration, for it is the feeling of the public that it has been built up too much. In the opinion of the discussants, also, the participation of the scientific-research resources in overcoming the crisis is too small. It was stated that this results from the fact that with the monopolist structure of our industry and the lack of competition, there is no demand for the production of better and more modern products.

The discussion of the government programs is continuing. It is still one of the forms of consultation with the public on the vital problems of the nation and the state. As a result, this program will certainly become enriched and adjusted through the ideas and opinions of party members, and those not belonging to the party. Sejm delegates will become acquainted with these opinions. With them, it will be easier to make the proper decision in such difficult matters.

Yesterday, a meeting took place at the Poznan Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant (ZNTK) devoted to the reporting of the results of the nationwide conference of the worker aktiv, and above all, of the questions concerning economization of materials and methods of combatting inflation. The representatives of the work force--among them were also Bronislaw Steplowski, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, and Zdzislaw Zygmanski, a worker of the ZNTK--discussed also the methods for further economization moves. Much attention was devoted to the structure of costs and the methods for reducing them.

Also, during the opening statements, and during the course of the discussions, as well, the representatives of one of the largest work establishments of the capital of Wielkopolska, called attention to the fact that only production and



productive work at each work position that is based on honest economic accounting can provide a guarantee of overcoming the economic crisis and increasing production for the domestic market and for export. It was emphasized many times, that in the current situation, everything is most dependent upon the proper organization of work, the provision of reliable transport, and a breakdown-free stock of machinery. This will permit, not only a fuller realization of plants, but also the utilization of reserves, which are not lacking in any plant--including the ZNTK.

Meetings with participants of the Warsaw conference taking part occurred yesterday in many factories and enterprises of the Wielkopolska region.

#### Aktiv Program Against Inflation

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (dm, zd, pl): "After the Nationwide Conference of the Worker Aktiv: Work Against Inflation Under the Public's Eye"; direct reporting]

[Text] The participants of the Warsaw conference held regular community meetings yesterday with the workforces of enterprises, and the social-economic aktiv, during which, the main thrust of the discussion was combatting inflation and countering the lowering of the standard of living.

Yesterday, Bronislaw Steplowski, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, met with the work force of the Poznan Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant. He acquainted those gathered with the main problems broached at the nationwide conference, which is considered to be the most important event since the time of the 9th PZPR Congress. The Warsaw discussions were marked with great concern for the cause of the country. The workers who spoke saw the need for the introduction of the programs for combatting inflation and for economization that had been presented, and called attention to the necessity for consistency in action.

The ZNTK workers spoke on the same subject, but in relation to their own plant. In distinguishing wastefulness, which has to be combatted at every step of the way, from economization, they foresaw two versions of a basic program. In the interim version the improvement of work organization, the analysis of standards for the consumption of materials, and the introduction of new standards were included. The introduction of this program is realistic and assumes a 6-7 percent savings in materials and a further growth in labor productivity.

A reduction in the consumption of coal and coke can be achieved through the modernization of pipelines, and the replacement of the old furnaces in the forge shop with gas furnaces. The utilization of oil wastes, which can be used for heating furnaces, can also contribute to this. Possibilities have also been found for saving on fuel and oil for engines, thanks to a change in technology of running-in internal combustion engines and tightening up the operational standards. A change in technology for repairing diesel locomotives has also been worked up. It has been stated that a change in the organization of work

on the second and third shifts will save considerable electric power. The nonferrous metals will be selected in conformity with technical standards, and not according to statistical standards as has been done to date.

Considerable savings can be attained through the expansion of the production of components that have been imported from abroad up to now. The initiation of the production of piston rings has already brought a savings of 400,000 dollars to the plant. Ordinary rings, gear pistons, and other replacement parts have been worked out.

The program of savings through investment requires the outlays of billion of zlotys, and is to be realized by 1990.

Gerard Bury was the guest of the Poznan Goplana Sugar Industry Works, and the watchword of the meeting of the work force with him was economization. In the program for economization and reducing production costs, there is a new import-reduction technology, thanks to which, it is possible to reduce the use of cacao beans by 10-15 percent. With the use of domestic raw materials, it is possible at the same time to maintain a high level of production. Savings in this area, however, are limited, because the abiding by the formulas is mandatory. No less of a possibility exists for reducing industrial losses in the area of raw and other materials, which on an annual scale, will permit the saving of 500,000-700,000 zlotys for Goplana.

Within the framework of economization, the elimination of intermediate administrative elements is also being applied here. Last year, a reduction of employment in nonproduction jobs of 15 persons was made, and in the current year, a further curtailment of this employment by about 30 percent is planned.

The participants at the meeting asserted that savings can be found, not only in the area of production and transport, but also in the deficient activities of departments, ministries, and in science.

In the "Tonsil" Loudspeaker Production Plant in Wrzesnia, where Kazimierz Zontek took part in a meeting, the plant's own program of economization is being worked out, especially in the area of limiting the materials-intensive-ness of its products. Many imported materials can be replaced by domestic materials; many reserves are perceived also in improving work organization. "Tonsil," which is already turning out additional production now, thanks to the introduction of technical and organizational changes, sees the possibility of further increase of its production for the market.

In the meeting of the workers of the Gniezno Polanex, Janina Funke took part. During the lively discussion, it was shown that the Warsaw conference was necessary, but it would have been much more useful to have a meeting on the provincial level first and then later on, on the central level. The appropriate taxation of luxury goods was also discussed.

A similar kind of meeting took place yesterday also in the Swarzedz Furniture Factory, with the participation of the work force, representatives of the worker self-government, and the trade unions that were in a formative process.

Bronislaw Firlik, a participant at the Warsaw conference, came to the meeting. The problems connected with inflation were broached; the still unused raw material reserves that exist were pointed out. It was suggested that the costs of getting out of the economic impasse be fairly applied to all groups of the population.

#### Views on Aktiv National Meeting

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Statements of Opole Province Representatives after the nationwide Conference of the Worker Aktiv]

[Text] Michal Zelek--foreman in the Paper Mill in Glucholazy, member of the PZPR:

We recognize the government program to be appropriate, however, we note that some premises are incomplete. A call is made, for example, for economization of materials, energy, etc., but it is also necessary to create the appropriate stimuli and motivational systems. This also concerns the matter of not subjecting the wage fund that has been increased because of economization to encumbrance for the Vocational-Activization Fund [FAZ].

In our plant, there are still certain possibilities for the production of new qualities of paper, even the kind that we are importing from abroad. At the same time, there is a lack of orders in our plant for newsprint, one of the cheapest papers in the country. Another example: the customers who had an allotment for toilet paper, which is so much needed, were supplied. At the same time, we have toilet paper and cannot sell it without an allotment, in spite of the fact that there is a shortage of toilet paper on the market.

Last year, we were short of railroad cars, and at the same time, the warehouses were full, so that we had to shut down the machines. The reason for this was explained at the beginning of the year, when new transportation fees came into effect. Is this the only way that things can be done?

The biggest problem is the labor shortage. We are unable to acquire new workers, because the work is hard and the earnings are low, and no looming of inflation can be seen in it. The result is such that every day, one paper-making machine is shot down, and the plant operates on two shifts instead of three. In this situation, we note that work cannot be treated only as an honorable duty. Certain elements of coercion are also necessary. And perhaps it would be good to shut down a part of the plants and firms that produce unmarketable goods. In that case, we would have additional people for work.

Lechoslaw Stankiewicz--foreman in the "Perspektywa" Disabled Persons Cooperative in Opole, member of the PZPR:

Today we will not find any magic formula for restoring the economy to health. This is a long range process, requiring resoluteness applied perhaps for years. However, there are such matters that have to be solved more quickly

and energetically. I am the representative of a disabled persons' cooperative, because a large number of partially-disabled persons work efficiently, and do not live, even though they could, at the expense of all of us. My group in particular, as no other, has the right to mention the necessity for undertaking even more effective activities for the purpose of eliminating the burdensome symptoms of the social pathology. I am thinking here about alcoholism, which is spreading, of the scourge of speculators, and the unjustifiable enrichment of certain social circles, and the number of persons who are shirking work. The two last phenomena, even if it is not possible to eliminate them, could be significantly limited, among other ways, through administrative steps.

In the difficult period in which our state finds itself, we cannot fund the easy life of the loafers.

Feliks Walkowiak--Lathe operator in the "Malapanew" Metallurgical Plant in Ozimek, member of the PZPR:

He related the undertakings that have as their goal a growth in production of goods from which the manufacture of goods for the market is dependent, together with a gradual reduction of sales prices for finished products. An incentive wage system that has been worked out in the plant ought to bring about an increase in labor productivity, if only tools for the machining of castings, electrical fixtures, etc. are provided. However, the plant economization program ought to make up for the shortages to a certain degree. These activities are an example of the decisive steps, which, in his opinion, ought to be undertaken in order to eliminate negative phenomena and trends, which could make it necessary to raise retail prices.

F. Walkowiak made an appeal that in putting the government program into effect, an excessively deep-reaching egalitarianism does not ensue that could deter the filling of responsible work positions that necessitate high skills and considerable experience; work positions at which--in view of the difficulty or the hazardousness, have preferential pay applied to them. It is also necessary to trade carefully with respect to the application of the new principles of taxing handicrafts and private specialized farms. "The commission of errors here," he asserted, "could have far reaching consequences, and the development of 'citizen's entrepreneurship' may not balance out the losses in specialized units."

Radoslaw Bek--Director of the State Motor Transport [PKS] Branch in Opole, member of the PZPR:

Currently, in order to permit oneself to raise the wages of workers, it is necessary to set up the plant growth relative to the previous year, and to realize this plan. Well, our transports are mainly the transportation of people, the number of whom is not rising proportional to the plan intentions of the PKS. It is no secret either, that the production in many branches of industry, speaking relatively, is not peaking out. Therefore, there is not so much requirement for transport facilities as the PKS personnel would be satisfied with.

We adopted a decision aimed at the optimum operational use of our buses, and its result was the cancellation of half of the number of buses planned for delivery this year. We assumed that the buses that we already have and the ten "Berliet" in the urban version will suffice for our needs. The only question is whether we will receive the "Berliets." Simply speaking, the decision was made somewhere that these buses have to be earmarked mainly for municipal transit systems and not to PKS.

Only a small percentage of the PKS drivers are able to state exactly what sum they receive from the pay office when they are paid. The multiplicity of this sum and in addition to this, the compensations, cause a loss of basic wages in all of this. The suggestion is made then, about simplification of the wages and a rectification of their system. We have already discussed with a group of drivers the possible conversion to a provisional system of compensation. For a specific route, specific revenues for the enterprise, there should be an appropriate percentage of profit for the driver. However, we do not have the suitable authorizations to do so.

The drivers of our branch are saving quite a bit monthly, because they are attaining 10,000 or so liters in quantities of diesel oil and ethylene. It is necessary therefore to pay them an appropriate bonus for these savings. However, the problem is based on having the results connected with the payment of these bonuses proportional to the costs of purchasing fuel.

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CSO: 2600/769

## KATOWICE-KIELCE PROVINCES PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Katowice Province PRON Tasks

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Text/ The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth /PRON/ programs-elections discussion in the Katowice Voivodship has entered its second week. The meetings of the basic elements of the movement for national rebirth focus on the draft documents for the coming national conference as well as on new proposals for concrete and practical activities in various social and professional environments, both in the cities and in the villages. Some 60 delegates to the first national debate have been already elected and we should keep in mind that in accordance with the resolution of the PRON Temporary National Council the programs-elections campaign will end on 15 March 1983. Among others, the delegates were elected at the Sikornik and Labedy settlements and Srodmiescie District in Gliwice, at the Nowy Bytom District of Ruda Slaska, and at the Srodmiescie and Piotrowice-Ochojec Districts of Katowice. On whom the trust was bestowed? On people with the greatest personal authority; on those who won respect and recognition through work at their place of residence or enterprises. Elected were those activists, who had undertaken and resolved a number of problems suggested by neighbors or coworkers.

Not surprisingly, for example, at Piotrowice-Ochojec in Katowice Zbigniew Rozycki was elected a delegate to the national conference; he is a cofounder and chairman of the local PRON organization who with assistance from others resolved many problems in the area. In Ruda Slaska Irena Skroba, Quality Control employee at the Mining Clothing Manufacturing Enterprises, was elected and her candidacy was supported by a statement that "a loudmouth and a person, who does little cannot be a participant in the national conference..." In Gliwice, among others, Marek Nowicki, employee of the Labedy Mechanical Enterprises, was elected, while at the Stary Sosnowiec district in Sosnowiec - Roman Chrzanowski, high school teacher. Every selection is carefully thought-out; both, the qualities and contributions of each selectee were carefully considered for these people will represent the Katowice Voivodship at the national congress and it is they who will present the problems of the region at the first national debate.

As we have been informed at the organizational headquarters of the pre-congress campaign the programs-elections meetings focus on discussing draft documents prepared by the PRON Temporary National Council. The prevailing mood is satisfaction that for the first time this kind of documents were submitted for a wide consultation in which anyone can participate who is interested in the activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and who wants to exert an influence on the final shape of the structures of this movement and its program of activity. All discussants accept the need for a partnership - strongly accented in the declaration and the PRON bylaws - which ought to regulate PRON's work in various social and professional environments. The idea is to enable the activists of the movement to influence the resolution of important, and sometimes controversial problems. In the Katowice Voivodship there are many examples of undertaking and resolving problems with PRON's cooperation in the cities and villages.

Many discussants have pointed out the need for linking the movement's activities more closely with the representative organs, in particular with the people's councils. The role and the need for functioning of the basic elements of the movement in enterprises are still being debated. Some maintain that PRON is necessary in enterprises, because it performs an important role there; others argue that in a situation when trade unions and employees self-governments more strongly assert their presence PRON cannot find a place for itself. What will be the final result of this debate only the future can tell.

Likewise, one cannot disregard expressed objections to the PRON functions and its role in the society. In general, all participants of the programs-elections meetings emphasize that the movement for national rebirth is not and cannot be an institution replacing or serving as a substitute for the administration. The discussants propose a number of specific comments and suggestions with regard to the language of the PRON's draft documents; they believe that certain formulations ought to be more precise while others more general. One of the issues being discussed is the evaluation of the PRON's real role in the integration of various social environments. Another issue is the problem of the best and most efficient means of establishing contacts with people and society, among others, with the young, who are not in a hurry to take their own initiative.

This is the scope of the issues discussed and the direction of a discussion, which gains momentum and brings interesting voices and comments. These statements will be transferred to the forum of the national debate, that is the coming national congress in Warsaw, and they will contribute to the formulation of the final declaration and bylaws of the PRON, a movement which attracts increasing number of citizens.

Rybnik will be represented at the May national congress by 5 social activists: Franciszek Celary (Nowina District resident); Romuald Gojny (miner from the RYMER Mine); Wacław Wypior (general foreman); Eugeniusz Marcol (General Construction Combine, Rybnik Coal Basin /KBO ROW/; and Lucjan Pytel (retired teacher), elected in open elections at meetings in various environments and at

yesterday's plenary meetings of the PRON City Council, enlarged to include the representatives of all civic and political organizations active in Rybnik.

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In the Czesztchowa Voivodship the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has more than 4000 members, active in 26 PRON councils and 165 Citizen's Committees for National Rebirth /OKON/. Its activists can be found in all gminas and environments. Four representatives of the region participate in the work of the PRON Temporary National Council /TKR PRON/.

The programs-elections campaign to prepare for the TKR PRON national conference began in eight regions of the Czesztchowa Voivodship with conferences in Olesno, Pajeczno, and Myszkow. At the conferences 6 delegates were elected to represent the movement at the national congress. In accordance with the TKR PRON directives, 30 delegates will be elected for the Warsaw congress.

#### Katowice PRON Delegates

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by J. W./

/Text/ The reports-election campaign for the PRON national congress has ended in the Katowice Voivodship. In dozens of local elements, which exist in the cities, municipal-gmina centers, and in the villages the hitherto accomplishments of the movement and drafts of the basic documents for the national congress were discussed as well as the delegates for that congress - a total of 152 - were elected to represent Katowice Voivodship at the first national debate in Warsaw.

At the headquarters of the pregress campaign the work continues on summing up suggestions, comments, and remarks made at the meetings. It can be said that the general and common feature of the campaign is the respect for the fundamental principle of partnership and equal rights of all participants in the movement regardless of their organizational affiliation or their view of the world.

In accordance with that principle the ones elected as delegates were those who deserved it. Any attempts to justify the selection of a candidate by means of the so-called selection key met with protests and rejection. Those activists were elected whose achievements were known in their neighborhoods and places of work.

The following, among others, were elected in accordance with this formula: Henryk Pytel, locksmith-miner at the RYMER Mine in Rybnik; Maria Szyrocka, housewife and chairperson of the PRON Gmina Committee in Godow; Maksymilian Adamus, lawyer and chairperson of the PRON City Committee in Mikolow; Waleria Migas, member, PRON City Council in Wodzislav; Wlodzimierz Burakowski, pensioner from Tychy; Jerzy Kucza, Municipal Road Cosntruction Enterprise



in Tarnowskie Gory; Adam Rams, education and upbringing inspector from Piekary Slaskie; Maciej Liberski, veterinary doctor from Myslowice-Imielin; Roman Straub, Voivodship Command, Volunteer Labor Brigades /OHP/, Katowice; Gerard Rojek, physician from Jastrzebie; Jozef Bujak, research scientist, Institute of Chemical Processing of Coal, and chairperson of the PRON City Committee in Chorzow; Ryszard Krawczyk, pensioner and member of the PRON City Committee Presidium in Trzebinia; Anna Olesik, employee of the Gmina Administrative Office in Wielowies; Kazimierz Rubin, manager, School Shop, Mechanical Equipment Factory in Poreba; Halina Szatowska, economist, Pstrowski Mine, and chairperson, PRON District Committee in Zabrze-Biskupice; Prof. Stefan Jarzebski, director, Polish Academy of Sciences /PAN/ Institute of Environment Engineering Fundamentals in Zabrze, and chairperson, PRON City Committee in Zabrze; Stanislaw Gardala, employee of the District Dairy Cooperative in Pilica; Krzysztof Nowak, employee of the Voivodship Rheumatological-Rehabilitation Center in Goczałkowice-Zdroj; Janina Debowska, employee of the Silesian Refinery in Czechowice-Dziedzice; Stanislaw Krawkowski, general foreman, BRZESZCZE Mine, Brzeszcze; Adam Jessa, miner and combine operator, Gottawald Mine in Katowice; and Mieczyslaw Zwolinski, superintendent, Elementary School No. 38, Katowice.

Thus, the delegates elected represent various professions, social environments, and both the young and the older persons. During the discussion, which will continue, the participants above all emphasized the fact of democratic formulation of the bylaws and program of the movement. In unfettered discussion and debates a model of the movement, which would satisfy the aspirations of the society, takes shape. Discussion participants with satisfaction point out to those documents excerpts which address the need for creating conditions allowing a growth in political recognition of citizens and which point out to the need for multiplicity of views in society as well for dialog and understanding as methods to overcome disputes and sometimes diverse aspirations and interests.

At many meetings, however, doubts were expressed if the numerous proposals and suggestions submitted would be reflected in the final documents submitted to the congress. Criticisms were expressed about the conflict between the language of the declaration and the bylaws. Some expressed discomfort that the said documents put emphasis on the structure of the movement and pay little attention to the movement activists and the real people. For example at the meeting on District 11, which was attended by the representatives of the local movement elements from the Toszek, Wielowies, Zbroslawice, and Tworog Gminas, the participants pointed out to the need to preserve the authenticity of the movement.

At the Piotrowice-Ochojec District Committee attention was focussed on the need for greater popularization of the movement, the program of which is not widely known. In the Nowy Bytom District of Ruda Slaska the meeting participants emphasized the need for closer cooperation between the basic elements of the movement with the people's councils, and they criticized the fact that draft documents for the PRON Congress lack a chapter discussing PRON activities in enterprises.

Suggestions were made to improve the working of the documents so that the activists of the movement for agreement knew, both their duties and their rights. The oldest participant of the meeting addressed Irena Skroba, a delegate to the PRON congress, in the following way: "We have never had a representative from Ruda Slaska at a national level; now we have you, girl. Remember to present properly our affairs at the congress."

Members of the precongress campaign headquarters and members of the PRON Voivodship Committee in Katowice participated in 50 reports-elections meetings. At this time a detailed analysis is being conducted of suggestions and comments submitted with regard to the PRON documents drafts. This will be the basis for the draft documents, illustrating the views of the Katowice Voivodship activists, which after being approved by the PRON Voivodship Committee in Katowice on 9 April 1983 will be submitted to the PRON Temporary National Council at the meeting in Warsaw on 16 April 1983.

#### Katowice Topics for PRON Congress

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (JW), (st)/

/Text/ The precongress campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is under way in enterprises, city districts, and various social and professional environments. The drafts of the basic PRON documents are the subject of discussion in local movement elements, which carry out their activities in the cities, urban-rural centers, and in the villages, where congress delegates have been already elected. What are the major proposals and suggestions? What issues are focused on at the continuing discussions in various environments? We are presenting the voices of the delegates to the congress from the Katowice Voivodship.

Adam Jessa, employee of the "Gottwald" Mine in Katowice and chairman of the PRON Katowice-Dab District Committee:

As a representative of the workers environment at the congress I believe that the proceedings ought to contain voices about the living conditions in big industrial agglomerations, that is living conditions of those who daily perform hard jobs in the mining and steel mill industries.

I am convinced that the Movement for National Rebirth offers an opportunity to resolve many of their problems. The most important among them are: environmental protection; housing construction development; and improved functioning of the trade and services networks. As a PRON activist I try to respond to and resolve problems, which make life difficult for the inhabitants of the Katowice old districts, such as Dab and Welnowiec, inhabited by approximately 28,000 people.

I believe that our movement is needed in the workers environment and it benefits the inhabitants of the cities and villages. I think that satisfying even relatively simple wishes and suggestions of citizens is important and has

significance at present. I have participated in many discussions. People make serious accusations and speak bitter and unpleasant words. Therefore, we must not disregard seemingly marginal initiatives of the basic PRON elements, which are in fact very important from the social point of view. I place the greatest importance on the fulfillment of suggestions made by citizens, for I believe that their realization may be the beginning on the road of renewal of our life.

Jozef Bujak, research scientist at the Institute of Chemical Processing of Coal in Zabrze and chairman of the PRON City Committee in Chorzow: There will be no doubt many problems discussed at the congress. However, as a research scientist I am interested most in the utilization of science in the national economy. So far its achievements have not been sufficiently applied. We are a country rich in raw materials, why not utilizing them better. These raw materials, i.e. coal, can be processed into more valuable liquid and gas fuels. It is in the direction of fuller utilization of raw materials that the research projects are directed at our Institute of Chemical Processing of Coal. But the issue of application of scientific research on industrial scale is a topic which can be discussed forever.

I wish to add that as a Chorzow representative at the congress, where I reside I am interested in the problems of environmental protection. I cannot avoid this issue for at least one reason: Chorzow is located in the center of the Upper Silesia Industrial District /GOP/. I am positive that the issues presented by me will be reflected in the work of the congress, a broad forum of national agreement.

Stefan Zapior, pensioner and chairman of the PRON Housing Project Committee at Sikornik in Gliwice:

All of the most important problems of this country are being decided below - in enterprises and settlements - therefore I would like focus on them. As an inhabitant of the Sikornik settlement, which houses approximately 30,000 people, I believe that the greatest deficiency of our social life is the lack of adequate information about various problems in our country as well as about the undertakings of authorities, who make efforts to resolve many problems.

It ought to be the task of the Movement for National Rebirth to exert pressure on both the people in positions of power as well as the citizenry.

As an activist of this movement and after acquainting myself with the pregress documents drafts, I believe that some formulations lack precision. PRON - a movement, which is supposed, among others, to exercise social control - ought to have the authority to execute justified demands, otherwise it will become just another civic organization of little significance. For example, a construction enterprise director is asked to attend a meeting in our environment and instead we get a person who is incompetent and without any authority. Words spoken at the meeting are addressed to emptiness for it is obvious that the problem discussed will not be resolved. Therefore, I think that the documents ought to be worded in a way that will allow the execution of decisions taken by the movement.

The documents drafts state that PRON is to be, among others, an evaluating body. We know from past practice that so far consultations were held after the decisions had been made and it was too late to annul hasty decisions. Therefore, the documents must clearly state that the decisions by authorities in social areas which are of concern to ordinary citizens can be made upon prior consultations. I am dissatisfied with the statement that PRON is open to all. What does it mean? I understand that we are a movement, which has a place in its ranks for representatives of various social and professional groups and for believers and nonbelievers, but that means people who accept the superior role of the nation and the state. But is there a place for uncommitted people, who are guided by their private interests most of all? We cannot accept those who come to us because of personal interest and expectation to make easier lives for themselves. Also, I believe that after many months of activity the time has finally come for the name PRON to be uniformly adopted in city districts, enterprises, cities, and villages.

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A joint meeting of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation of Political Parties and Associations and the Presidium of the PRON Temporary Voivodship Council /TRW PRON/. The meeting was attended by Prof Jozef Chlebowczyk, chairman, TRW PRON, comrade Jerzy Kopel, secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bielsko-Biala, Stanislaw Michalski, secretary, ZSL Voivodship Committee, and Aleksander Jura, secretary, SD Voivodship Committee.

The meeting focused on on the course of the pregress reports-elections campaign in the PRON basic elements.

Already 17 delegates have been elected to the Warsaw PRON congress. On 31 March 1983 the PRON Voivodship Conference will be held in Bielsko-Biala during which the remaining delegates to the PRON congress will be elected. The conference will also elect 5 candidates to the PRON National Council. In total, the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship will be represented by 39 persons at the First PRON National Congress.

#### Kielce Province PRON Declarations

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by Boguslaw Morawski/

/Text/ We have already published information that on 3 March 1983 the members of the PRON Temporary Voivodship Council in Kielce met for a comprehensive discussion of the organizational and ideological-program problems of the movement within the framework of preparations to the First National Congress, which will convene in less than 2 months. During discussion most attention was rightly focused on the drafts of the program declaration and bylaws of PRON.

I believe that presently to define the essence of what is happening in the rebirth movement the word "searching" would be the most appropriate. It means searching for such an organizational structure, which would offer hope for effective action in the future as well as searching for appropriate forms of contact with society for, both today and tomorrow. The movement activists are also involved in ideological-program searching, which has been exemplified by discussions on the PRON declaration draft. Is it good or bad? In general, good, for it can be seen black-and-white that nothing is being forced on anybody. The concept of the movement ought to be discussed, not accepted. Searching for something better than good guarantees a proper climate for discussion. What has been discussed at the plenary meeting of the Kielce Voivodship PRON organization activists?

Dr S. Baranski from Kielce was the first discussant. He stated that he has doubts with regard to some directions of the movement's activities, proposed by the draft of the ideological-program declaration. Many of these activities are mentioned, but they are often not specific enough, i.e. PRON control authority over the state administration. Doesn't it smack of dual power? We are to formulate opinions and suggestions based on this control. Are we talking about all little problems, or only about the main types of shortcomings and organizational paresis? He also suggested that the movement makes the problems of family, and consequently of children, a significant direction in its activities. To get healthy and good youth it is necessary to give it good care when they are children. M. Grzegorzczuk from Piekaszow stated that the movement activists ought to be members of the people's councils in order to better learn about the problems of environment and power, but also to influence the decisionmaking processes. Z. Wszola from Sedziszow would like to see in the program document of the movement a broader definition of patriotism, reaching deeper into the Polish traditions. This could help many potential candidates to find their place in the rebirth movement. Czeslaw Kozak, chairman, ZSL Voivodship Committee, spoke on behalf of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation of PZPR, ZSL, and SD. He emphatically stated that our present difficulties are a combination of objective and subjective phenomena. On the one hand, they were caused by contradictions between the principles of socialism and the ways of applying them in practice, and on the other hand by negative social phenomena, among them such as crime and alcoholism. Last year we spent approximately 400 billion zlotys for alcohol; in our voivodship alone - 8 billion 106 million zlotys. The following comparative figures will demonstrate its meaning: the value of all agricultural production means in the Kielce Voivodship is 7 billion zlotys (the investments in agriculture constitute 1/12 of the amount spent for drinking); and investments in the housing construction amounted to only 3 billion zlotys. PRON activists ought to encourage attitudes opposing phenomena, which assume the form of a social epidemic. The attitudes of some of the representatives of various economic and public administrations must worry us. Lack of tolerance for their violations of the law and review of their performances ought to become the major tasks of the movement. Political parties wish to act in the spirit of equal opportunity, because this is the essence of socialist justice. Parties also wish to act on behalf of democracy, that is strengthening of the role of

people's councils and other forms of social self-government. In our situation there can be no place for passivism. Activity on all levels of public life which require improvement and ending is the yardstick of contemporary patriotism.

T. Rubik from Kielce pointed out to the need for clear determination in the discussed documents of the question whether PRON selects or takes part in the selection of candidates for the Sejm and people's councils? This is a very important problem for a sociopolitical organization, which intends to initiate citizens' activity. J. Knapik, chairman, Voivodship Board, PAX Association of Secular Catholics, answered that PRON is not an organization but a movement. It is not composed of individuals but of social, political, youth, women, and other organizations. This fact has definite consequences.

W. Figarski, superintendent of education and upbringing, suggested to include in the movement declaration an obligation to act on behalf of the young generation. Children and the youth are the goods of the nation and of the entire society. The declaration draft contains only an appeal to the youth that they perfect their citizenship skills and fulfill their aspirations to influence social life in the framework of the movement's program.

H. Swierczewski from Krasocin gave high marks to the declaration and bylaws drafts. The activity of the movement ought to focus on practical implementation of the ideals of justice. It is imperative that the roots of the social parasitism be cut off as this is one of the blatant exemplifications of injustice. He also posed two questions: is the control of the authorities and the review of their performance supposed to be professional and comprehensive or only a cursory one, and should the activities promoting morality of work contain elements of incentive or of coercion?

A. Sosnowski from Ostrowiec disagreed with Mr. Knapik on the question of whether the movement has a place for organizations and associations only and not for concrete individuals with a passion and initiative. If in fact the movement is composed of institutions only then the entire matter ought to be rethought. Only those movements which offer individuals an opportunity for self-realization in civic activity are capable of drawing people in and benefit from their commitment. Otherwise, PRON will become a formalized federation of institutions and administrations. Z. Wojnakowski from Nowiny suggested passing a law, which will give a basis for control of the authorities and making recommendations to them. On what basis do you interfere in our work? -- various managers and directors ask. We know better how to act on the gmina level, because we have the opportunity to see our problems up close and on a daily basis.

H. Cichocki from Kielce appealed for communicating in a language commonly understood. People ought to be freely addressed in matters close to their hearts. Honesty is the only guarantee of a dialogue and agreement. He proposed the following: the movement ought to be the spokesman for socially desired economic concepts and organizer of elections to the Sejm and people's councils. T. Zawistowski, vice chairman, PRON Temporary Voivodship Council,

focused on the citizen's political importance and proper functioning of state organs as the fundamental conditions of realistic democracy. PRON is to identify the sources and causes of the moral endangerment of society and to follow closely related phenomena. Concrete initiatives undertaken are the condition for a persuasive activity of the movement and its credibility.

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This is not the first time that I had the opportunity to listen to a discussion of PRON activists. I left this one with a conviction that it cannot be allowed that such a beautiful idea and great chance for Poles turns into another dud. I have written about it more than once. Ideas and social movements have always wilted because our activities have been taking place in a socially stuffy atmosphere. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is not germinating in "greenhouse" conditions, but in a society, which is divided, broken up, bitter, and distrustful. Some people watch the searching of movement activists with hope: "maybe they will succeed?"

Appeals for support and right suggestions on winning new allies are already insufficient today. It is necessary - I am deeply convinced of that - to make a few further steps in the direction of those undecided and doubtful. These steps may be talks not just among the experienced activists but public discussions with workers in enterprises and clubs, but most of all with youth - working, college and high school students, affiliated and nonaffiliated with any organizations - as well as with various groups of intelligentsia. The purpose of these talks would not be just spreading the idea of agreement, but most of all an attempt to find out from them how to raise higher the work ethics, how to perfect professional ethics, how to morally renew the society, and how to mend the state. Citizens want to be authentically asked for advice. They may have gotten already bored with just offering support and acceptance.

#### Kielce Province PRON Views

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (jch)/

/Text/ The city conference of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth /OKON/ in Kielce was the last of the regional meetings in the voivodship preceding the First PRON National Congress. It was attended by the activists of the movement and the representatives of the party and political associations as well as civic organizations, which had joined the OKON and PRON. It was also attended by Prof Henryk Jurkiewicz, chairman, PRON Temporary Voivodship Council and City Citizens' Committee for national Rebirth /MOKON/, Eugeniusz Cichon, member, Presidium of the Temporary Executive Council /TRW/ of the patriotic movement and KW PZPR secretary, and representatives of the city authorities with Zdzislaw Skowron, secretary, PZPR City Committee /KM PZPR/, and Gerard Bednarz, chairman, City Peoples' Council /MRN/.

There are 35 OKON and PRON elements in Kielce, most of them are active in enterprises and housing projects. In a few other enterprises and institutions

initiative groups of the movement have been established. However, the PRON ranks still do not contain enough youth, teachers, and representatives of the cultural sector.

What have the OKON elements been doing? They considered the improvements in municipal economy, transportation, and city's water supply as the most important issues. However, the initiatives undertaken in the housing projects, such as Czarnow, Pakosz, and at the Armii Czerwonej Street have proven to be more effective. OKON activists joined the efforts to combat the manifestations of social pathology such as speculation and alcoholism. They also demanded improvement in the functioning of the trade centers, and assisted families living in difficult conditions as well as the aged and the disabled.

At the meeting, Jerzy Szmaidel, member, MOKON Presidium, discussed the future PRON bylaws and the election law. It was followed by a discussion on the PRON ideological-program declaration. The discussants made the following points, among others:

(a) It is necessary to decide before the congress what the movement for national rebirth is going to be. It was supposed to be the voice and conscience of the people. If this is the case, it must respond when something wrong happens and when erroneous decisions are made. In order to perform such function PRON must be a movement which will be participating in decisions involving issues that concern the people; (b) The ideological declaration makes no mention that PRON ought to adopt all good aspects of the National Unity Front [FJN]. After all it was a movement, which fulfilled its task within the allowed framework; (c) I am surprised by the seemingly democratic election structure. And yet it appears that 50 percent of the delegates to the congress will be elected directly, while the rest at the voivodship conferences; and (d) PRON ought to be a movement which will allow confrontations of various differing opinions, beliefs, ideologies, views of the world, and concepts so that after discussions an understanding and national agreement could be reached.

During the conference four delegates were elected to the First PRON National Congress: Elzbieta Gacek, activist of the League of Polish Women City Board and PZPR member; Danuta Bielec, employee of the Iskra Precision Equipment Plant, nonparty, and founder of the PRON element in the enterprise; Ryszard Stepnik, employee of the Eltor Enterprise for Electrification and Technical Service in Agriculture, and ZSMP activist; and Zygmunt Pachota, representative of the PAX Association of Lay Catholics City Branch.

#### Necessity of Kielce PRON Movement

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jch)]

[Text] Yesterday the Presidium of the PRON Temporary Voivodship Council held a meeting in Kielce. Its chairman, Prof Henryk Jurkiewicz, reported on the preparations for the coming congress in Warsaw scheduled to convene on 7-9 May 1983. Kielce Voivodship will be represented by 43 delegates and 5 members of the Temporary National Council [TRK]. So far 25 delegates have been elected



at the regional conferences. Among them are workers, farmers, teachers, white collar workers, and members of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy /ZBoWiD/. Additional 18 delegates to the congress will be elected at the PRON voivodship conference, which will convene on 11 April 1983 in Kielce.

The election campaign is accompanied by a discussion on the ideological-program declaration and bylaws drafts of the movement. It is also an attempt to find an answer to the question: What is PRON going to be? Most frequent suggestion was for this social movement to become a guardian of democratic methods of exercising power, of broadening the democratization of the public life, and to be able to influence the activities of the state organs as well as the election of peoples' councils' members and Sejm deputies. For the representative organs - emphasized the discussants - do not contain enough workers and farmers. Regional conferences reflected common concern of the discussants for the moral rebirth of our life, consolidation of social justice, and more effective combatting of law violations, waste, and phenomena of social pathology. Also, it is disturbing that many social initiatives have been formalized. Often the bureaucratic machine is impenetrable by, for example, farmers' initiatives such as assistance in road construction.

These errors must be avoided by the PRON movement in order to escape the appearance of a facade and bureaucratization. It ought to be a movement open to any creative social initiative, which is so needed particularly today.

8609

CSO: 2600/702

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Krosno Province PRON Congress

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (reb)]

[Text] (Our Own Information) Elections and platform campaign in elemental branches of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth ended. In the past weeks in individual milieus--work places, villages and settlements--meetings took place of Civic Committees for National Rebirth at which the accomplishments so far and social effects of the work of area activists of the movements elemental branches were discussed. During this debate many valuable proposals and conclusions were formulated. They concerned the draft of the declaration ideology and platform and the statute principles of PRON. The documents in this matter, as is known, are to be received by the forthcoming congress of the movement.

On the other hand, these matters were discussed during the parish and city conferences of PRON or, as is the case with Tarnobrzeg,--at regional mini-Sejm meetings. As it was stressed many times in the course of this precongress campaign, the divisions which exist within the society and differences of views on specific topics between the citizens and the authorities, must be eliminated through a dialogue which should be treated as a permanent method of solving conflicts of interest and of differences in standpoints as well as through reform of the mechanisms of exercising the authority. PRON's goal should be to solve these contradictions and conflicts.

Our role, said the PRON activists, cannot be reduced only to registration and expression of social views and opinions. We must strive to coshape them. We want to exercise influence both on attitudes of those who exercise the authority and on attitudes of the society.

In the draft of the declaration of PRON, the inspirational and organizational function of the movement is pointed out. The question is to free social initiatives, to contribute to the satisfaction of needs of the citizens, starting with the democratization of life through organic work at the foundations. Moreover, the activity so far of numerous District Committees

for National Rebirth [OKON] is conducive for this. This became evident, among others, during last meetings. Much place in the work of these elemental branches is taken up by problems essential for particular milieus which concern the conditions of work, social discipline, functioning of communal services, commerce and utilities, health service and the like. Thanks to efforts and interventions of PRON activities it was possible in numerous cases to solve and arrange a number of cases of this sort.

The district congresses of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth to convene in few days will serve the purpose of developing the discussion which is taking place in the area, of systematization and augmentation of conclusions and of proposed content of the declaration itself. It is today that the provincial congress in Krosno is taking place. It is attended by 267 delegates who represent about 400 primary elemental branches and by almost 18,000 throng of citizens who announced interest in joining the movement. During the congress 14 persons will be given the delegate mandate to the National Congress, 4 delegates were elected during the town conferences in Krosno, Sanok, Jaslo and Brzozow. The provincial congress of PRON was called for today in Tarnobrzeg. It is here that the regional pregress preparations will be evaluated and remaining delegates to the May congress of the movement will be presented. The majority of them (12 persons) received mandates during the regional mini-Sejm meetings in Janow Lubelski, Nisko, Opalow, Sandomierz, Stalowa Wola, Staszow and Tarnobrzeg. The province of Tarnobrzeg will be represented at Warsaw meetings by 22,000 activists of PRON. At the same time the congress will choose the Provincial Council of PRON, the present council had a temporary character. The provincial congress of PRON in Przemysl is announced for 8 April while in Rzeszow for 12th of the present month.

#### Lublin PRON Conference

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by (chrom): "City PRON Conference in Lublin", Lublin, 8 Apr]

[Text] The pregress campaign of the Patriotic Movement for the National Rebirth continues in the entire country. The election of delegates to the congress is accompanied by a discussion of the platform declaration and of statute principles of the movement of Polish unity. In Lublin a campaign ended in the lowest elemental branches of PRON which operated in settlements, districts or work plants; on the forthcoming Friday, 8 April, a city platform and election campaign will take place.

The campaign in basic elemental branches of the young movement began in our city on 10 March and lasted until 31 March. In 45 Lublin district, settlements, plant and milieu units of PRON or OKON [District Committees for National Rebirth] electoral meetings took place which were most often connected with meetings with local population. During these meetings 110 delegates to city conferences were elected. They discussed at the same time the most important matters for the movement often making proposals for additions to the declaration draft. Much attention was given to young

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people's affairs and especially to the matter of their participation in the movement of rebirth. The participation was judged to be too small by all who spoke about it. It was stressed everywhere that PRON is open to all who are interested in cooperation. It is never too late to join in the work of the movement.

The delegates at the Friday conference will hear more about the elements dominating the discussion and about the course of the pregress campaign in Lublin.

We too will return to topics which has only been signalled here when we discuss the course of the sessions.

During the city conference, 12 delegates will be elected to the First Congress of PRON. They will represent a numerous group of PRON activists from Lublin.

The conference will begin on Friday at 1 p.m. The sessions will take place in the conference auditorium of Lublin city hall.

#### Zamosc, Chelm, Biala Podlaska PRON Campaigns

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sna): "Pregress PRON Campaign Enters Final Phase"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) The platform and election campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in provinces of our reign is nearing the end. In the next few days the provincial congresses of PRON will take place. During them the accomplishments and effects of social activity of area activists of PRON elemental branches and the present discussion on the draft declaration and statutory principles will take place.

During meetings and milieu get-togethers of activists and PRON delegates it was declared that the superior cause of value for every Pole regardless of his views should be his native country. Thus PRON creates chances to participate in public life for all citizens, be it partly members or not, believers or not. The divisions existing inside society and between society and the authorities can be, it is stressed, annihilated through a dialogue which is treated as a method of solving conflicts of interest and differences in views, and also through reform of mechanisms of exercising authority. It is PRON that makes it a goal to solve these conflicts, to accommodate differences and also to serve society while taking up its problems and troubles. The basis of mutual accommodations should be tolerance and understanding. Today's meeting of OKON and PRON activists in Zamosc will inaugurate provincial congresses in our region. It will begin at 10:00 a.m. in the auditorium of the Provincial Office. Over 300 of its participants who represent about 4,000 persons who had declared active participation in PRON activities in this province will evaluate the present experiences and accomplishments of the movement and

will map out new directions of its work. 19 delegates will be elected who will represent Zamosc Province at the National Congress of PRON in Warsaw. As is known, it will deliberate between 7 and 9 May of the current year.

The provincial congress of PRON in Chelm will take place tomorrow at 9:00 in the auditorium of the Provincial House of Culture. Over 120 of its participants who represent a throng of tens of thousands of activists of this movement in the province will elect seven delegates to the national congress. Besides that two delegates were elected earlier, at the town conference of PRON in Chelm. During the present campaign, just like in the remaining provinces of our region, in Chelm Province several hundred new members offered to join PRON. New elemental branches and councils of the movement were also formed.

However next Monday (11 April) provincial meetings of PRON activists will take place in Biala Podlaska and in Lublin. In Biala Podlaska, the meeting will begin at 10:00a.m. in the auditorium of the local Academy of Physical Education. Twelve delegates will be elected to the congress. Almost 400 delegates to this meeting will discuss the movement's accomplishments and its new directions of action.

In Lublin province 38 delegates who will represent Lublin Province to the National Congress of PRON were chosen at regional conferences of movement activists. On Monday 11 April at 11 a.m. in the auditorium of the Office of the Province in Lublin the plenum of PRON will meet and that will end and sum up the results of the pregress platform and electoral campaign of the movement in the province.

#### Przemysl Province PRON Congress

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8-10 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mn): "Provincial Congress of PRON in Przemysl; In Search for a Road To Reconciliation Between People of Different Milieus, Views and Generations"]

[Text] (Our Own Information) Only few weeks separate us from the opening of the congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Important stages in the pregress platform and electoral campaign which began in the Przemysl Province on 23 February of this year, were gmina, city and gmina, and city conferences of PRON which were a civic voice on important matters of the country, of the region and of the milieu in connection with a discussion of the draft of declaration and the statutory principles of PRON. The course of the campaign was a confirmation that PRON in Przemysl is developing and is getting strengthened; in the province there are active over 300 elemental branches of this movement arousing greater and greater interest on the part of the entire society. There are many examples of effective interventions, positive solutions to living problems of people and milieus and of effects of social initiatives taken and supported by PRON's elemental branches.

The crowning of this stage of the pre-congress campaign was Friday's (8 April) Provincial Congress of PRON in Przemyśl in which 155 various milieu representatives participated in addition to those who were invited as guests. The Provisional National Council of PRON was represented by deputy chairman Prof Jan Kostrzewski, the vice-president of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]. He gave a speech from the congress tribune in Przemyśl and stressed, among other things, that the most important goal of the movement which in Przemyśl Province has quite sizable accomplishments to its account, is to find a road to reconciliation between people of different strata, milieus, views and generations and to find a common language for them.

Many activists of PRON in Przemyśl Province believe in this principle and the course of the congress confirmed it firmly. The congress deliberations were attended also by representatives of provincial elements of the singers of the July declaration of PRON: for the PZPR--First Secretary of the Executive Committee Roman Szarek, for SD--the Chairman of the Executive Committee Franciszek Herman, for PAX--the Chairman of Provincial Rebirth [OW] Leszek Sobala, and for the Christian Social Association, the OW Chairman Stanisław Wilk. Moreover the congress was attended by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Front of National Unity, Marian Kozłowski, the chairman of the Provincial National Council, Jerzy Mastalerczyk, Przemyśl Province head Andrzej Wojciechowski and the plenipotentiary of the Club of Catholic Rebirth [KOK] and the military commissar of the province, Col Stanisław Jędrzejec.

The lecture of Józef Galant, the chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON served as the opening of the discussion. He stated, among other things, that the road to renewal, to rebirth and to national reconciliation leads through industriousness, abidance of law, and an ever-better cooperation between all those who have the welfare of Poland in their hearts.

PRON can do a lot in this direction and due to that it will be still a bigger chance for the Polish nation. The elemental branches of the movement being guided by the principle of authenticity and realism in their actions, should constantly widen the scope of the movement's actions paying more attention than so far to the question of influencing the awareness, the attitudes and the views of its citizens. An important task is to reach work establishments to a degree larger than before and to gain workers and other employees for PRON ideas. The same refers to youth. Among other councils the Provisional City Council of PRON in Jarosław has already some accomplishments in this area.

The lecture contained also summing up of the course so far of the discussion of the draft declaration and of the statutory principles of PRON. The participants of the conference and of the congress offered many valuable comments and motions postulating, among other things, a clearer definition of PRON prerogatives vis-a-vis administration, and asking for means which would assure that the authorities fulfill the postulates and interventions

on the part of PRON. A more exact and precise description of PRON prerogatives in planning voting regulations to Sejm and national councils and their participation in nominating candidates and in the conduct of elections themselves are expected.

These and other matters were referred to in speeches and appearances during the congress discussion by those who took the floor: Andrzej Wojciechowski, province head of Przemyśl; Jan Bialy, chairman of Parish Provisional Council of PRON in Jawornik Polski; Marian Szabatowski, the chairman of the Provisional City Council of PRON in Lubaczów; Zenon Czech, the first secretary of the Executive Committee of PZPR (on the authority of the Province Commission of Cooperation of PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party; Halina Pilek, a member of the Provisional City Council of PRON in Przeworsk; Bronisław Swierbut, a member of the Provisional City Council of PRON in Przemyśl; Kazimierz Nowak, the president of the Parish Circle of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBowiD]; Stanisław Jaszczyczyn, a farmer, the chairman of the District Committee for National Rebirth OKON in the village Ułazów in Dzików Stary Parish; Maria Budzianowska, deputy chairwoman of the Provisional City Council of PRON in the Provincial City Transportation Enterprise WKPM in Przemyśl; Genowefa Kusniar, the deputy chairwoman of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON in Fredropol; Julian Punicki, the chairman of the Provisional City Council of PRON in Jarosław and Bogusław Pruchnik, the president of the city of Przemyśl.

In spite of the fact that there was no shortage of controversial accents and polemical elements in the discussion, the majority of speakers voiced a deep conviction and faith that PRON can and should become a movement uniting all authentically patriotic forces in common work for good of the country and society.

The participants of the congress in an open vote chose 10 delegates to PRON congress. They were: Jerzy Lobos, the deputy chairman of the administration of the PAX OW, a deputy chairman of the Provisional City Council of PRON; Wanda Jagodzinska, a retired person, a member of the Provisional City Council of PRON in Lubaczów; Barbara Niznik, a teacher, a member of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON in Pruchnik; Jan Jasinski, a retired person, the president of the Union of Disabled Veterans [ZIW] in Jarosław; Andrzej Bielecki, Krzeczowice village head; Zbigniew Walas, the area instructor of the Provincial Administration of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZW ZSMP] in Wiazownica; Jan Korchowiec, a worker, a member of the Provisional City and Parish Council of PRON in Sieniawa; Jan Bialy, a carpenter, the chairman of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON in Jawornik Polski; Ewa Kornaga, a teacher from Lower Krowica, a member of Provisional Parish Council PRON in Lubaczów Province and Władysław Kowal, the chairman of the Agricultural Circle's Cooperative [SKR], a member of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON in Krzywczka.

The delegation of Przemyśl Province to PRON congress was supplemented by delegates elected earlier at the City Conference of PRON in Przemyśl and in Jarosław: in Przemyśl: Jan Orlos, chairman of the Provisional City

Council of PRON; Romuald Boryslawski, secretary of City Committee of Democratic Party, a member of the presidium of the Provisional City Council of PRON and Stanislaw Wilk, chairman of the Provincial organization of Peasant Cooperative Society [OWChSS], a member of the presidium of Provisional City Council of PRON; and elected at City Conference of PRON in Jaroslaw: Julian Punicki, a teacher, deputy chairman of Provincial Administration of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the chairman of the Provisional City Council of PRON, and Teresa Krol, an activist of people's movement and of women's movement and the deputy chairwoman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON.

Moreover, to the May congress will go members of Provisional National Council of PRON who come from Przemysl Province: Jozef Galant of Przemysl, Edward Dzikiewicz from Przeworsk, Stanislaw Chludzinski from Przemysl, Stanislaw Kisala from Dusowice, Orly Parish, and Wladyslaw Folta of Gacia Przeworska.

The congress in Przemysl recommended candidates to National Council of PRON: Jozef Galant, Edward Dzikiewicz and Stanislaw Wilk. Jerzy Lobos's candidature was also proposed for a member of the finance Control Commission at the National Council of PRON. The first Provincial Congress of PRON in Przemysl was chaired by Wladyslaw Dziedzic, a PRON activist from Przeworsk. It ended with a motion which was passed that expressed among other things, a positive opinion of delegates together with their remarks and proposals concerning the content of declaration drafts and statutory principles of PRON, and also containing conclusions which were the harvest of the precongress electoral platform campaign and of the congress discussion.

#### Radom Province PRON Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by J. Figas, M. Oleszczuk: "Twenty-Eight Delegates Elected to National Congress"]

[Text] The Auditorium of the Construction Combine "Budochem" in Radom, in which usually the sessions and meetings of utmost importance take place, became on Friday a place of deliberations of the Provincial Conference of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Almost 200 delegates of individual elemental branches of PRON arrived. Among them there were those who can document activity in political and social organizations, and also those who only recently decided to join this kind of work and at that in the newly formed movement. Older people were in the majority although young people were not lacking either.

The chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, a president of the Radom Engineering Evening School WSI prof. Jan Sajkiewicz greeted the guests warmly in the name of the delegates. The guests were: Zofia Grzyb, the member of the CC PZPR; Bogdan Prus, the first secretary of



the Executive Committee of the PZPR; Henryk Maciag, president of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party; Krzysztof Szewczak, chairman of the Provincial Committee of Democratic Party; Jan Trybulski, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Front of National Unity; Col Edward Jedruszewski, chairman of the Military National Council; and Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, province head. Present also were Col Zygmunt Kosmala, chief of Provincial Military Headquarters; the commandant of the provincial Citizens' Militia, Col Henryk Walczynski and Radom hosts with the secretary of the City Committee of the PZPR, Jan Grzebalski, and President Andrzej Morawski. They also greeted warmly the member of the Presidium of the National Council of PRON Wit Drapich and the delegates to the Sejm.

The conference had as its task to balance the accomplishments so far of PRON, finally to bring precision to the recommendations for drafts of basic documents of the movement and to elect delegates for the First National PRON Congress. It began with the appearance of the chairman of the Provincial Council. It turned out that this movement congregates over 10,000 members. In the last period the number of PRON elemental branches grew considerably particularly in villages. Its activists have to their credit formation of a Club of Political Discussions of the Provincial Council (similar clubs are formed at city councils, at city and parish councils). They constantly are on duty to give prompt care to essential concerns of the citizens. Starting with an assumption that the most important task for the economy is to implement the reform, they undertook the initiative of exchanging experiences in this respect among enterprises.

The preconference electoral and platform campaign caused a great stir. At numerous meetings various problems of the milieu, of the region and of the country were discussed as well as the future of PRON. A large majority of persons expressed the view that the future and credibility of the movement depends on whether constructive and operational methods of cooperation with the authorities will be worked out. It was found that many barriers blocking the development of PRON are in it itself; that there are elemental branches which do not take into consideration those factors which make up the needs, the moods and the aspirations and which do not know how to properly oppose the still popular among some groups negation of everything and everybody.

When taking a stand on the ideology and the platform and on the statutory principles, and when accepting them basically, they presented motions and comments to change some formulations, to widen the scope by some concrete points referring, for instance, to the superior values of Poles and of Poland, the feeling of national identity, love for freedom, attachment to principles of social democracy and humanistic tolerance. In the opinion of many, the movement should have the ability to display its own thoughts and arguments in its own press.

Twelve persons expressed their opinion and observations at the forum of the provincial conference: Justyn Napora, Yzgmunt Wojdan, Tadeusz Purtak, Lech Wisniewski, Leon Tydzewski, Danuta Grabowska, Jan Janowski, Rajmund Szwonder, Witold Drapich, Tadeusz Piatek, Krzysztof Muniak, Jan Bielecki.

The discussants pointed to the continuing need for more prompt and for more honest information about decisions of the authorities, limitations of the bureaucracy, fight with profiteering and all forms of wastefulness. They pointed to the need of stable agricultural policy, of stating precisely what concretely will be undertaken by every enterprise, city or parish, to lead the country out of the crisis. The role of youth in the process of renewal was stressed. In many statements one could sense concern for proper choice of candidates for town councillors in the forthcoming elections to national councils. There were also voices pointing to the place in the world which Poland occupies, to strengthening of alliances with socialist countries. All of this when translated into simple language obvious to everyone, should better reach the young generation.

When taking the floor, the first secretary of the Executive Committee of the PZPR stated that in the Radom Province an ever wider support for the movement can be observed. This is a confirmation that people can be convinced only by concrete actions, only by assistance in solving everyday problems and it is PRON which in our region can show numerous examples of being able to arrange matters of citizens' or of milieu concern at times difficult and complicated.

The credibility of the movement cannot be destroyed by aggression of its political opponents.

W Drapich considered it proper to point to, first of all, the role of the workers--peasants alliance and also to the need of social discipline, of exploitation of positive experiences of the Front of National Unity.

After candidates were presented by the electoral commission, the mandates to National Congress of PRON from Radom Province were received by: Stanislaw Brzoska, Kazimierz Bukowski, Danuta Grabowska, Kazimierz Kilianek, Zygmunt Kosmaia, Zbigniew Krawczyk, Tadeusz Purtak, Jan Sajkiewicz, Jan Wlodarski, Zygmunt Wojdan, Leokadia Zawadzka, Janusz Zietek from Radom, Witold Banasiak from Pionki, Krystyna Syngot from Warka, Kazimierz Gienza from Ciepielow, Stanislaw Jankowski from Zwolen, Zdzislaw Lesiak from Nowe Miasto, Zdzislaw Lepecki from Przyleka, Krzysztof Muniak from Wierzbica, Jan Muszynski from Drzewica, Zdzislaw Nowosad from Bialobrzegi, Stanislaw Peszek from Grojec, Jan Sambor from Wolanow, Lech Wisniewski from Kozienice, Edward Wojcik from Borkowice, Wieslaw Zwolinski from Ilza, Mieczyslaw Bogdanski from Sienna, Stanislaw Jagodzinski from Szydlowiec.

To the National Council of PRON were elected the following persons: Stanislaw Brzoska, Jan Sajkiewicz, Krzysztof Muniak, Zygmunt Wojdan. The participants of the provincial conference passed a resolution which approves the drafts of the declaration and statutory principles after taking into consideration and stated corrections.

It is worthwhile to stress that the Radom forum of PRON passed in the atmosphere of great seriousness and awareness of tasks facing the movement. Care was also taken of proper organization--all delegates received the first issue of the Information Bulletin issued by the Provisional Council of PRON.

9971

CSO: 2600/792

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

PRON--Roads to Understanding

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Aniela Labanow: "The Road to Accord"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Last Saturday Polskie Radio broadcast the program "Activists from the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Speak With the Public." The Bialystok Station of Polskie Radio invited activists from our region to this meeting: from Bialystok--Professor Doctor Habilitatus Piotr Boron, the chairman of the Province PRON Council, director of the Clinic of Infectious Diseases at the Medical Academy; Danuta Muranko, member of the Province PRON Council, quality control inspector at the FASTY Bialystok Cotton Plants [BZPB], deputy chairperson of the plant board of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]; Eugeniusz Leonczuk, worker at the Glass Foundry, member of the Province Council and the Provisional National Council of the PRON, chairman of the Board of the Province Division of the PAX Association; Kazimierz Uszynski, member of the Provisional National Council of the Pron, director of the Museum in Ciechanowiec; from Suwalki--Malgorzata Chodunaj, member of the Province PRON Council, teacher, employee of the Office of the Inspector General for Education and Upbringing; Waldemar Brzezinski, member of the Province PRON Council, Commander of ZHP [Polish Scouts Union] Troop./

/The guests engaged in discussion in front of the microphone on topics previously submitted by radio listeners as interesting, and they also held numerous direct telephone conversations, answering questions and receiving comments, suggestions and responses./

/Meetings with PRON activists were prepared and conducted by the following journalists from the Polskie Radio Station: Janusz Weroniczak, Zbigniew Krzywicki and Lech Pilarski./

/On this page of our GAZETA we are publishing today extensive (unauthorized) fragments of the discussions and comments from the radio campaign, "PRON Activists Speak With the Public."/

And how can education be achieved through the mediation of culture? It is necessary to begin with rudimentary, prosaic activities such as the proper manner of participation in what we call civic work. It should be properly organized and produce suitable results.

/Let me cite an instance from Ciechanowicz where--on the basis of local patriotism, because it is the foundation of national patriotism--nationally known results have been accomplished. It all began in families and schools. When the chairman of the MRN [Municipal People's Council] visited school pupils with an appeal, he did not declare things like "This is your patriotic duty," etc....but merely said: "Listen. The contest commission will arrive in 2 or 3 days, but we have some messed up places in the city: some of our neighbors are unable to clean them up on their own because they are ill. Help them, because this is our common ambition, our common need." When the work produced effects, youth was not forgotten and was given credit for its contributions./

This is culture day by day. On the other hand, as for the specialized institutions, both legal ones and other public institutions and chiefly specialized cultural institutions, they must employ these techniques to influence the public and imbue it with the conviction that the patriotic attitude means an attitude of active participation in everyday work for the common good, even if the individual's contributions may sometimes go unappreciated.

#### Consultation With the Public

/Telephone conversations with the listeners lasted for 4 hours, from 800-1000 and from 1400-1600 hours. The representatives of the PRON were called by listeners from their provinces concerning the most varied matters ranging from personal matters to extremely general ones concerning the country and the nation. Help in finding housing was requested and comments and suggestions on the activities and program of the PRON were made./

/PRON activists took note of the matters discussed and will transmit some of them to intervention commissions or concerned institutions. Professor Boron has made several personal appointments as a result of these telephone conversations./

/Below are the opinions of several activists on the conversations with the listeners./

Eugeniusz Leonczuk: There were many calls on the most varied matters. I was pleasantly surprised by the interest in the activities of the PRON and the courage shown in expressing one's own views and feelings about the Movement. The callers spoke about such issues as concern for urban planning and environmental protection and criticized the faulty system for the exchange of apartments and the improper approach to the tenants of demolished houses. Such issues upset the public and are of the greatest concern to it. They hurt it.

Callers from Sokolka and Lapy mentioned that duress was applied to participate in First-of-May parades and that even bonuses were made contingent on such participation. This is impermissible.

## At the Provisional National Council

/Piotr Boron, Eugeniusz Leonczuk, Edward Wrobel and Kazimierz Uszynski took part in the sessions of the Provisional National Council of the PRON. Below are their comments on that Council and its activities./

Piotr Boron A certain historical period, the provisional nature of this Movement in the socio-political system of the Polish state, is coming to an end. This is my first impression. My second is chiefly that new mores, a new political culture are arising along with realism of discussion, authenticity, directness, controversial nature and freedom of comments as well as practicality of arguments and respect--despite some passionate discussion--for the arguments of other discussants.

In the method of dialogue and mutual understanding I would like to stress such accents which concern me most as a physician, namely, authentic goodwill of one Pole toward another. I would like to promote the following slogan nationwide--a slogan reflecting the meaning of the actions of every PRON member: Your goodwill is needed by others.

Eugeniusz Leonczuk: I would like to share my 'behind-the-stage' impressions. The mass media might listen to this: the communiques on the deliberations of the TRK [Provisional National Council] are dry and terse, without reflecting the entire wealth of problems raised and comments made. For example, consider the discussion on the Union of Democratic Youth [ZMD]. The mass media should give greater publicity to the work of the National Council, as otherwise the public will not have a good idea of it.

Kazimierz Uszynski: Wonderful people meet at the TRK and the general discussions are complemented by off-stage conversations such as the ones with Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz or Maria Lopatkowa. Let me quote two formulations that I cannot forget: the PRON, in the nationwide sense, should function a little like a well-organized regional association in a small town. All participate with equal rights in meetings and there is no distinction between a worker from the Fasty plant and a farmer plowing a field near Czyzew, and all speak sincerely and plainly with each other.

The other utterance I remember is that of Maria Lopatkowa. She said: "In combatting evil let us not combat man." Anyone who acts may make mistakes and while condemning mistakes we should also appreciate what is of value in every individual. If this principle is adopted, we will find it much easier to gain sympathizers for our movement.

Edward Wrobel: To me what matters most as regards the TRK is that all social forces active in Poland can meet on such a national forum for the first time. It seems to me that this organization is of a completely new quality considering the political practice in our state so far. For the first time the formula that "the PZPR is the leading force of the nation in cooperation with the allied political parties" is complemented with "in partnerlike co-responsibility with the associations of secular Catholics as well." For the first time these social forces can engage in mutual, and very sharp at that, discussion on keeping in mind, though, one common goal: accord and the renewal of socio-political and economic life and, primarily, moral life of the nation. This is a totally new quality and I wish to emphasize this.

## Catholics in the PRON

Edward Wrobel: Secular Catholics are using their position in the Movement to represent there their own ideas, own elements of a program. This is besides assured by the fact that PRON participants have equal rights and, through the participation of their representatives, can present the programs of their organizations and retain their identity. We differ from the FJN [Front of National Unity] in that we do not emphasize unity but declare in favor of pluralism. On the other hand, we should reach a consensus, that is, universal public agreement, on fundamental issues, on offering in this connection our own individual ideas.

Catholics believe that they have finally been noticed, that their function, their role in building the socialist state, previously recognized only on great holidays, has been perceived. I believe that the authorities have understood that the time has come when the deepest values latent in the society have to be leaned upon. This means reliance on that richness of world outlook, that many-sourced culture which has evolved through the millenium in our country, as well as reliance on that love of the Fatherland, nurtured in every Pole, which has now to be demonstrated.

I think that Catholics will contribute much that is new to the PRON. We believe that the present need for patriotism is primarily to be met through work, work for the good of the Fatherland and the entire society, of us all. It is precisely secular Catholics who contribute this new kind of motivation for work. We draw on the deepest values latent in the very outlook of Catholicism. We claim that the behest to work for the Fatherland, the behest to transform the world, is an Evangelical behest. Man is the highest value, and it is man whom the system should serve, while on the other hand the system is shaped precisely by man. And this is a moral behest.

Kazimierz Uszynski: I consider it praiseworthy that motivation for work as interpreted in this sense is quite universal. But I believe that this should not be the sole motivation in our society, considering its diversity and complexity. It is the great task of the PRON to bring about a situation in which the universal conviction in favor of a rational performance of work and proper distribution of its effects would exist in our society. This is one thing. Another is that there is a fairly common saying that in this country the man who works honestly and solidly for a socialized institution finds it hardest to live. This saying sounds like a curse, to say the least. But there is so much justice to it that one of the most important tasks of the PRON is to bring about the elimination of the causes of this phenomenon.

There is another incredibly important matter which deserves mention. The PRON should serve as a forum for public opinion, for confrontation of views, but someone must authentically represent rule by the society. This concerns the representative ruling bodies and it is an immensely important matter to our Movement that the representative bodies be strengthened and properly selected and, above all, that they function in a credible manner. Society should be certain of actually exercising rule through its own elected representatives. This will not always be highly convenient to the administration but I think that, on becoming accustomed to new forms of governing through the mediation of representative bodies, the administration will in time realize that this is a profitable form to it.

Edward Wrobel: I wish to add that the authorities, the administration at all levels, should understand the role of the Catholics precisely in building socialism and understand that people with a different world outlook also are building that socialism. This concerns the proper appreciation of persons who are building socialism from other motives, i.e. those whose actions are inspired by the Catholic world outlook. I am concerned with the broadly conceived issue of democratic socialism. If we wish to unify the masses of society which at present are standing aside and looking on, we must acknowledge the plurality of world outlooks.

Kazimierz Uszynski: So that there would be no dissonance among all world outlooks between what we say and proclaim and what we do each day.

#### More Workers

Danuta Muranko: Here at our plant the PRON is active and fairly numerous, having about 850 members. We are gratified that most are blue-collar workers; only 80 are white-collar workers. I believe this is due to the fact that the BZPB employs chiefly female textile machine operators. Through the mediation of the PRON many issues of concern to us as women can be resolved.

/One more thing. We have so many PRON members because the founding group approached its task properly. Individual talks were held and we had liaison people in discrete departments. They showed a great force of conviction. In addition, persons holding the trust of the work force were selected. This was chiefly why the PRON met with support at the plant./

Eugeniusz Leonozuk: A PRON branch could not as yet be organized at the Glass Foundry, but its employees, especially blue-collar workers, support maximally the idea of national accord. After all, without workers there can be no accord.

/The PRON has an important role to fulfill at the plant. It should unify the activities of all organizations--I refer here to self-government, trade unions and youth organizations. The situation at present is such that each organization goes its own way. The PRON should link together these organizations and mesh the activities of workers with the undertakings of the management. I hope that it will accomplish this./

Danuta Muranko: The PRON is to exercise control functions, but control should not be conducted without the participation of workers. Consider the past: the workers experienced most on their own skin all shortcomings and now if we really wish the renewal to come about, we should take an active part in the PRON, reach more and more people and attempt to find reflection and understanding among the broad masses. I think that before one can judge something one has to participate in it and have own sensations and an own idea of what is being accomplished.

Eugeniusz Leonozuk: The PRON is the sole opportunity that we have to reach the national accord. People should no longer oppose each other. The situation in the past had been somehow conducive to this. Everyone thought in his own categories, and if we tolerate this any longer we shall not live committed lives and of a certainty we will not come to a good end. We should avail ourselves of the platform for a national accord provided us by the PRON.



/These days people are irritated by poor supplies and housing problems and everyone would like to solve them on his own--and everyone is powerless. It is necessary to find that unity of action in order to produce some effect, to settle problems that concern both each of us in particular and us all, the entire society./

#### Education for the Nation

/Education is a kind of foundation under the thought of the national accord. In all talks about the PRON, in all discussions, the word 'upbringing' or 'education' is always used./

Kazimierz Uszynski: The two most important elements to the PRON are patriotism and the national accord. I think that the public should be prepared for this. These general issues linking the entire nation, the entire society, should be somehow transmitted to the rising generation, and also to those who work with it and even to those who give way to it, because they too have a lot to say about educational issues.

In education as a method three fundamental issues should be elucidated above all: the educational role of the family, the school--that official, as it were, educational factor, and finally other means of influencing and primarily culture.

Malgorzata Chodunaj: As regards the school and the educational system proposed by the school to students and parents, the relationships are very strong, since patriotism is the motivation. This is the point of departure to all else. We have only one country, our own, tiny on the world map but very important to us and, so long as all--from the child through students to adults--do not understand that the interests of our state are the fundamental interests, educational measures will not produce the expected results. Currently the Ministry of Education has, following discussions within pedagogical councils, proposed extremely interesting educational directions.

The common factor in all educational activities is patriotism.. The methods and relations with the PRON are very essential. The PRON may become the plane in which our educational proportions will find their reflection. After all, education means the relationship between the school and the family and the community and hence also with adult society. Elements of the PRON have the opportunity to undertake such discussion.

The essence of education is personal role models: now consider that the Movement's activists are chiefly individuals whose actions and behavior qualifies them as such role models. The PRON offers the plane onto which the most fruitful and effective proposals and forms of work can be transferred for transmission to the public and specific action. As for the question of the forms and methods of action of the PRON, that is another subject, because PRON members in every community act according to the needs of the particular community. So long as we bear this in mind and unless we fence in the PRON movement with regulations and rigid framework, this movement will be educationally effective and produce definite results.

Kazimierz Uszynski: A highly important matter to patriotic attitudes is the manner in which an overwhelming majority of citizens relates to what we call the national interest, the interest of the whole society. After all, as we can trace this from literature, the common weal, public interest, the good of the Polish Commonwealth has for centuries always been placed above private interest. But there is a lot that is disturbing in the present attitudes of the public.

Many callers asked how could they declare their participation in the PRON, and obtain personal access to it. This matter is insufficiently publicized. It is easier for organizations than for private individuals to establish contact with the PRON. My answer: all interested persons should contact the group active nearest to his place of residence or, if they are not aware of such a group, the province office of the PRON. There, they will of a certainty obtain the proper information and be directed to the proper PRON element.

Danuta Muranko: I also received many calls, some concerning requests for intervention which I will transmit to the PRON's intervention commission. I wish to limit my comments to three particular calls. In one, Pan Kowalewski called concerning the coming increases in preschool fees and complained that no one can find out the exact amount of these increases. People are worrying whether they can afford to send children to preschools. This matter should be clarified.

I also received a call from a listener in Bialystok who sked me whether we as the PRON are fulfilling our role. He also asked what will our agenda be at the National Congress and what issues will we consider there. I answered that, among other things, the PRON has asked the Council of State to abolish the martial law and grant amnesty to persons punished during the martial law.

As a young person, I am interested in the utilization of attics. I agree with the callers that it is absurd to make this utilization contingent on the approval of all tenants of a building. It happens that just one person disagrees and then the chance of adapting the attic to residential purposes becomes nullified. We will also transmit this matter to our intervention commission. It should be settled as soon as possible in view of the known difficulties with housing.

Piotr Boron: Radio Meetings are treated as a form of consulting the public. This is a very intimate form of conversation between any citizen and PRON representatives. I would classify the topics of these conversations into three principal groups. First, there are the interventions of various kinds: we pledged ourselves that any citizen with a grievance will receive an answer within 2 or 3

weeks. The second group of conversations dealt with general issues: the principles of the Movement and its nature and forms--that is, dialogue and national accord, along with the most crucial problems of the nation's life, amnesty, the suspension of the martial law, the maintenance of the socialist statehood of Poland, the issue of its security, the development prospects of youth, etc. Within this group of issues I would stress positive comments on the Movement with the proviso that we should talk less and act more, demonstrate by deed that the Patriotic Movement for National Liberation is not some instrument of the authorities, not an assemblage of persons who merely make declarations without showing the way out of the country's economic, political and moral crisis. And lastly, the third group is that of problems voiced by callers who display civic attitudes but have doubts, are embittered or are victims of injustice.

Malgorzata Chodunaj: I received fewer calls than expected. Nevertheless, these calls concerned various issues, including highly personal matters. In such cases we attempted to clarify the matters through direct conversation. If there was need for intervention, I asked the editors of the Bialystok Radio Station for help.

The questions also raised issues relating to the program of the Suwalki PRON. Environmental protection is a highly essential issue. The water bodies of our province are being poisoned by sewage and industrial liquid wastes so that we as the PRON conclude--we offered such a resolution at the conference--that the province authorities should immediately start building a waste treatment plant in the region of the Great Lakes. Such plants are being built in Elk, Augustow and Suwalki. But this is little, and besides the construction progresses quite slowly. We know that PRON activists from Gizyck are struggling for the construction of a sewage treatment plant in their city in order to protect the Niegocin and other lakes.

Our callers also wanted to know figures on the PRON's membership. In our province we have more than 13,000 members and 305 branches which handle varied tasks depending on local community needs. For example, the PRON elements in Wydmyny started a drive for building a house of culture, which is greatly needed in that community. PRON elements also sponsor the construction of public health and educational centers and facilities. This recommendation had also emerged at the province conference.

Waldemar Brzezinski: The questions asked of me were twofold: what do I, as a young man, get out of the PRON and out of my participation in the PRON. In the former case, I would mention here the effects which are produced at the PRON forum by cooperation between the ZHP and the ZSMP. It was only at the PRON's forum that these two organizations got to know each other more closely for the first time. We reached a consensus on issues of concern to the entire youth and these two organizations. We shall resolve these issues jointly. The other question, or rather the accusation, was whether I was not promoting my own career at the PRON. The ZHP has designated me for work in the PRON. This "career" is

responsibility for issues concerning Suwalki which I was entrusted with presenting at the PRON Congress.

#### Radio-Telephone Discussions of PRON

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by (CZ. Z. A. S.): "Building Bridges to Accord: Radio-Telephone Discussions of PRON Activists With the Public: Lodz-Piotrkow-Sieradz-Skierniewice; Great Success of Drive; From National Problems to Problems of Community, Plant, Family; The Need for Dialogue"]

[Text] Last Saturday, between 0700 and 1800 hours, PRON activists held a discussion with the Polish public nationwide. The Lodz Station of Polskie Radio where activists and delegates to the PRON Congress sat by at telephones, was called last Saturday by the inhabitants of Lodz and the Lodz Province as well as of the neighboring Piotrkow, Sieradz and Skierniewice provinces. The callers touched upon the principal problems of the socio-political situation of our country and the aims and activities of the young movement. The chances for national accord and for joint action to rescue the country from the crisis were discussed. Below are the more interesting conversations dealing with just some of the topics raised during this hours-long radio-telephone conversation between PRON activists and the public.

The telephone rings. The receiver is lifted by Waldemar Maciejewski, delegate to the PRON Congress, employee of the MERA-POLTIK plant.

"Why PRON? The names mentioned are always the same as in the government and Parliament. Who established it and for what purpose?" One woman asked.

W. Maciejewski explains: "The movement arose from the grassroots, first in the form of the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON]. Next, on 20 July of last year, the party, the political parties and religious organizations offered a declaration concerning the establishment of the PRON. The movement is an open structure and anyone who accepts its principles can join it; there are no restrictions."

The caller is impatient, does not accept the answer completely, asks another question.

W. Maciejewski continues: "What matters is that the dialogue should take place at a table rather than in the street."

Another caller, an elderly artisan, begins with the issue of taxes. But this is only a pretext, because soon he discusses aspects of the socio-political situation in our country and the activities and aims of the PRON. The caller claims that first associations and creative unions are being disbanded all at once and later the national accord is sought.

W. Maciejewski: "Sometimes a page in history has to be turned in order to begin anew. (...) In the boxing ring when the contestants hang in each other's arms, the referee also separates them. (...) What matters is that all should be given the same chance."

After this conversation lasts for several minutes, W. Maciejewski, who is on duty at the telephone on Saturday afternoon at the Lodz Station of Polskie Radio, gives the caller the address of the Bureau of the Provisional Province Council [TRW] of the PRON at 262 Piotrkowska Street.

The next caller asks: "When will presumably the martial law be ended? But in this case, too, one question was not enough. The caller discusses problems of the struggle against speculation, the activities of the Militia and ZOMO, free Saturdays and flaws in the organization of commerce as well as in wage systems. The caller based his arguments on instances from his own "turf"--SPOLEM [Union of Consumer Cooperatives] trade. Finally, he raised the question of trade unions and elections to the Parliament and people's councils.

W. Maciejewski informed him: "One of the program goals of PRON activities is precisely the drafting of new election procedures."

"Among whom is the national accord to occur? After all, most of the PRON's members are elderly people."

A young man about 30 years old who refused to divulge his name asked: "How can young people acquire trust in this movement?"

The next caller demanded: "The PRON should shed light on the 'blank spots' in the modern history of Poland."

Still another concluded: "You should get off your high horse and deal with daily vexations of the public."

These are just a few questions dealing with topics selected from nearly 100 telephone conversations conducted last Saturday with the inhabitants of Lodz and the province by Igor Sikirycki, the chairman of the TRW PRON in Lodz; Janusz Kawiorski, the chairman of the TDR [Provisional City-Quarter Council of the] PRON in Widzewa; and the aforementioned and already introduced Waldemar Maciejewski.

These are just a few examples of the rich variety of topics raised in the conversations between the PRON and the public. The topics concerned the socio-political situation in our country, the possibilities and ways of rapidly emerging from the crisis, the chances for a national accord for positive action, and lastly the manner in which the new movement implements its ideas and goals and whether it meets the expectations and hopes placed in it by society. And while no "laurel wreaths" were bestowed or thanks given, many callers expressed concern about the future of this movement. They were apprehensive that the movement might isolate itself from the public once it becomes an established institution, and they also asked about guarantees that the movement will not repeat the mistakes of old structures and earlier movements which had not fulfilled the expectations. These conversations expressed many doubts, questions and apprehensions but also many hopes.

But insulting calls also came, though they could be counted on the fingers of one hand, which... only emphasized the need for such dialogue. Most calls, however, were requests for intervention in both broader communal problems and personal problems. One female caller asked the PRON to attend to the shopping center at Zgierska and Stefana streets that is still under construction after 7 years. Building materials are being pilfered from that site and no one is watching or supervising it, according to the caller.

W. Maciejewski promised to interest the TRW PRON Intervention Commission in Lodz in this matter.

Next, a citizen from Pabianice complained that his private land plot was expropriated to provide more land for the expansion of a housing project. He asked: Could not that boiler plant be sited farther off?"

The slow pace of housing repairs by the ROM [Residential Service Region] and the ADM [Residential Housing Administration], the revalorization of rents and annuities, the elimination of the "old portfolio" [old rent and annuity rates], the problem of letting physically disabled persons shop outside the queues, and troubles in getting a refrigerator repaired are just a few of the dozens of issues and personal problems with which the inhabitants of Lodz and the province turned to PRON activists during last Saturday's drive by Polskie Radio.

Undoubtedly, this was a useful and necessary drive. This is evidenced not only by the number of conversations and topics raised or even by the fact that some 15 callers declared their intention to participate in the movement. Last Saturday PRON activists were able to ascertain that a large part of the public is not indifferent to affairs of our country and its present and future. They want to talk about these affairs, discuss them and, on this plane, look for a national accord and joint action. This is the most valuable contribution of the pre-Congress drive of the PRON.

/Skierniewice: questions to delegates to the PRON Congress./

Last Saturday the delegates to the PRON Congress Franciszek Opolski and Zbigniew Sawicki kept watch at the telephone number 28-08 in Skierniewice.

The problems with which the inhabitants of the province and city of Skierniewice turned most often to the PRON representatives were questions of a socio-economic nature. Many citizens believe that the PRON should broaden its intermediary role. The inhabitants of Sochaczew expect, for example, precisely of the activists of the rebirth movement that they will bring about a faster pace of construction of the municipal hospital and initiate the construction of several old age homes in the province--facilities which are in such acute shortage there. The PRON is also expected to display an uncompromising attitude toward manifestations of idleness, waste and violations of social and work discipline. The rebirth movement also is assigned a special place in cultivating and fostering national traditions.

In Zyrardow the Congress delegate Karol Jurczewski kept watch at the telephone. In that city the issues most often raised by callers as well as during the numerous personal meetings between PRON activists and the public were: improvement in the sanitary condition of the city and environmental protection, renovation of old parts of Zyrardow classified as historical relics, and aid for the elderly by establishing appropriate centers for their care. The public views with a particularly jaundiced eye the situation at the local flax works, whose management, as part of a distinctively conceived economic reform, has successfully gotten rid of all the social services provided to its work force--the baths, the laundry room, the house of culture, and recently also the plant library.

## Olsztyn PRON Activities Over Microphone

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 25 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by J. B.: "On Youth, Democratization, Political Culture and Other Matters: Olsztyn PRON Activists Face the Microphone"]

[Text] /(Own information.) "Facts and Rhythms," the regular morning program of the Olsztyn Station of Polskie Radio, a popular well-liked program among radio listeners, focused last Saturday on an unusually topical question. This time we heard a broadcast titled "PRON Activists Talk With the Public" and presenting an interesting exchange of opinions from which we learned about many important affairs of the Patriotic Movement for National Liberation. Various issues concerning both the practical activities of the PRON and its program and ideological premises were considered. These conversations clarified many a doubt and provided the answer to many a question./

The delegates to the First National PRON Congress from our province arrived at the radio station. They were: Zbigniew Zlakowski, secretary of the Presidium of the WTR [Provisional National Council of the] PRON in Olsztyn; Olgierd Dabrowski, deputy chairman of the Province ZSMP Board, member of the WTR PRON, member of the Presidium of the Ostroda MTR [City Provisional Council of the] PRON, and member of the Board of the Province Division of the PAX Association as well as of its city branch in Ostroda; and Wacław Hojszyk, member of the Presidium of the WTR PRON in Olsztyn and director of the WTR Bureau.

Zbigniew Zlakowski took a position on several important issues. How is the participation of young people in the PRON evolving? Are young people authentic partners in the movement or do they submit to the authority of their elders, especially of high-ranking persons holding important public posts? An interesting question, raised by a caller, was the participation of young people in the creation of social premises for the democratization of public life. Democratization and its development are inconceivable without political maturity and political culture. What then are the ZSMP and other youth organizations doing to shape that indispensable political maturity and culture among youth? Zbigniew Zlakowski depicted in his answer the participation of young people in the activities of the PRON and recalled that delegates from Olsztyn Province to the Congress will include 10 representatives of the rising generation, including 4 members of the ZSMP. Declaring that youth is an authentic partner in the PRON, he added that this partnership also has to be learned and prepared for. The PRON afforded the young a new chance--he said--and we should exploit it. Democratization is a process conditioning the renewal of the country's life. It cannot be accomplished without youth. Democratization has also been extended to the ZSMP, which enables--both the members of that organization and youth as a whole to learn democratization and prepare youth for active participation in socio-political life. As for the PRON it provides the basis for the feasibility of such participation.

On being asked about his activities in the PRON as a Catholic, Olgierd Dabrowski responded that the question of the participation of all citizens in civic affairs had been a problem which was properly solved only by the PRON. "We Catholics lacked this a great deal in the past. That is why I can state that being presently in the PRON a partner of persons with differing views and convictions, I feel that there is a place for me in the movement." O. Dabrowski shared his

reflections on discussions held in a milieu close to him in his world outlook. These discussions often touch on difficult topics and last far into the night, but they deal with issues fundamental to Poles, concerning society and the state. Effectiveness of action depends on the force of the arguments we employ and offer, whereas opting out and passivity retard instead of advancing progress. Olgierd Dabrowski also raised issues close to the Catholics with whom he has talked. These include, for example, problems of social justice and equal opportunity for citizens with different views and ideologies to hold posts at various civil service and state levels. The question of the coalition method of governing is tremendously important and--in O. Dabrowski's opinion--not everyone believes that this is a lasting tendency. He himself, however, is an optimist and believes that this recently initiated process will be upheld and further developed by the PRON. This is a condition for the democratization of national life. The next question asked of Olgierd Dabrowski was: The PRON declaration states that this movement is an opinion-making body cooperating on principles of partnership with the authorities, parties, self-governments and public organizations. This sounds encouraging, but it is not easy to always formulate opinions shared by all participants of the movement. The PRON cannot declare several conflicting opinions. What is its practice so far in this respect, and what can be expected in the future? O. Dabrowski answered the above question by stating that, among other things, in the practice so far, differences in views and outlook have not decisively influenced the causes with which the movement is concerned. The movement affords a plane of action for all. If certain differences may arise among its participants, they concern not the aims of the movement but the methods of translating them into reality. The primacy of the movement's principles is here the permanently cementing factor. We are Poles and live in one country--whose prosperity is dear to all.

Waclaw Hojszyk answered other questions. What structures will be or should be adopted by the PRON, and does it in general need any explicit structures? he answered: "I cannot see how the movement can exist without any structure at all. After all, at present some 18,500 persons are committed to participating in it. Their activities are concentrated within discrete branches of the movement. The existence of territorial, province and national councils of the movement is a logical necessity. There can be no movement without concrete forms and above all without local elements. The next question concerned the organization and expression of public opinion as formulated in the draft declaration of the PRON. In reply, W. Hojszyk declared that, among other things, to accomplish this task the Provisional National Council of the PRON intends to establish a bureau for public opinion surveys--this being an interim, working name--and that conducting that bureau in cooperation with the Parliament is under consideration. In addition, the PRON perceives the need to participate in opinion-making as regards legislative problems, for example, and, when absolutely necessary, to appoint teams of experts guiding themselves by criteria of professionalism and public interest. Next, W. Hojszyk discussed the grievances and claims with which citizens come to the PRON elements. The WTR and local councils receive a growing stream of such cases. For the most part, so far as grievances are concerned, they relate to a problem that is national in scope--the housing shortage. But we do not wish to become yet another bureau for grievances and complaints--he said--and we use these complaints to infer conclusions about the performance of various elements of the administration, institutions and authorities.

Saturday's broadcast, performed live as the saying goes, included not only the visit of PRON activists to the radio station, although talks with them were the most important part of the program. The radio audience also participated in



radio meetings and conversations with other PRON activists, conducted earlier for this program and recorded on tape. The broadcast was anchored by: Marzena Lipecka, Tadeusz Ostojki and Igor Kostowicz. The Saturday morning Olsztyn program, dealing with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, not only provided listeners with much information on the problems, premises and accomplishments of the PRON but also prompted them to deeper civic reflections.

#### Discussions of PRON by Radio

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by (now): "Conversations Between PRON Activists and the Public: On the Waves of Ether"]

[Text] Last Saturday the Gdansk Station of Polskie Radio broadcast the program "Activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Talk With Listeners." This program enjoyed great popularity and interest among the inhabitants of the Gdansk and Elblag provinces. This is demonstrated by the numerous telephone calls made to the station, as well as by the written questions received by mail.

The radio listeners were interested in both the fundamental aims and tasks of the PRON and the place of this public movement in our political system. The questions asked also dealt with issues of concern to the population as well as to individual communities. Intervention and advice were requested on citing instances of improper performance of bureaus and offices. Much attention was devoted to aspects of social malaise: alcoholism and drug addiction. The living conditions of working people also were discussed.

The radio listeners were enabled to learn about the opinions of the movement's activists on the relationship between the PRON and the authorities and state administration. This movement should act as an instrument for eliminating the sources and causes of possible social conflict.

The radio discussion also touched upon the role of the PRON in future elections to the people's councils and the Parliament. Much was said about matters crucial to Poland and Poles--the need for national accord and understanding. There were no difficult conversations. The discussion was sincere and open.

#### Building Bridges Through PRON

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Jurczak: "Where Poland Begins...: The PRON--Building the Bridge"]

[Text] If you happen to be in Swinoujscie and say that this is where Poland ends, the denizens of that burg will take it as an insult. They believe that this is the place where Poland begins....

"Local patriotism"--this phrase has often been used negatively in the past. This is a mistake, because attachment to a city, a region, a place on earth where one's home is, can create an inimitable atmosphere in which all divisions, nuances and hairsplitting are kicked in the head. Swinoujscie appears to exemplify this

atmosphere. This may be perhaps still a shallow current, and perhaps the road to a full and deep mutual understanding of all is still far, but here, where Poland begins, the building of national accord has already been properly started.

Many who speak and write on the subject of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth often measure everything by the yardstick of what concrete accomplishments have been scored so far by the PRON, the OKON and the persons rallying round these elements? They expect an accelerated construction of housing and prompt cleaning of settlements, struggle against the social malaise, and charity drives. Questions about material results are asked in a flash. But even in the light of the draft declaration of the Provisional National Council of the PRON and the proposed statute rules, the tasks and aims of this movement appear to be quite different.

Many citizens who have rallied round the PRON claim that the structural institutionalization of this movement is its enemy number one.

"The end will come when secretaries and telephones appear along with file cabinets and passing on to us problems which no one can or wishes to solve," I was told by a PRON activist during the recent Province Congress of the movement in Szczecin. I believe that the PRON will not undergo a rigid "institutionalization. It associates many energetic individuals who genuinely wish to change Poland....

But let me return to Swinoujscie, where the building of the bridge has started successfully. I warn in advance that in presenting here individuals, their goals, views and reflections, I do not intend to enumerate a list of "accomplishments of the PRON so far." What matters more is changing the human mentality and ways of thought rather than prodding slow builders to work or chasing market-fair speculators.

We met Kazimierz Lisicki under rather atypical circumstances. Following the Province PRON Congress, K. Lisicki, the movement's delegate from Swinoujscie, called the editors with the complaint:

"Why did the report in the KURIER distort my comments at the congress? They were worded somewhat differently, more hard-hitting. Such matters cannot be waffled about...."

I did not intend to waffle anyone's utterances. Perhaps this was due to absent-mindedness or simply to overlooking an important comment. I offered to come to Swinoujscie and interview him. So now I am in the offices of the PAX Association in Swinoujscie, talking with Kazimierz Lisicki, expert at the Polish Ship Registry, marine engineer.

[Question] What was your exact comment at the congress in Szczecin? Let us clear this up....

[Answer] /This concerns just a fragment of my speech. I had said: "The PRON is looking for a place in the country's political life. Whoever wishes to influence the course of events in Poland without colliding with the law, should join the PRON. The nature of that influence is decided by individuals. We cannot stay in the margin of political life and complain that communists are governing us badly...."/

I also wish to mention several other matters of concern to me: the need for a cult of labor is being voiced increasingly loudly and often. In general, what we need more than such a cult is /wise labor/. The results of collective work are largely decided by the place of the intelligentsia in the social hierarchy. The need for conservation and good management is discussed and anti-inflation programs are established. But the key to the solution of these problems resides in human intelligence....

We do not have to share the views of the rulers. We must dare to offer realistic criticism. This takes more courage and audacity than hurling rocks. In my opinion, our society is passing to a higher level of consciousness. Growth stages during which wings develop are accompanied by weakness of the organism. In order to survive this dangerous period of weakness and shorten it to a minimum, all decisions by the authorities with which we agree should be actively supported. I am an activist of the PAX Association, a Catholic. As a Christian I cannot live in despair. It is not without reason that on various occasions I stress the need to prompt the intelligentsia toward an active political life. I am the vice chairman of the Provisional City Council of the PRON in Swinoujscie and a delegate to the movement's national congress and in addition I have been nominated to the PRON's National Council which will be appointed at that congress. It would be banal to say that this puts me under an obligation. One has to be patient with people and convince them by word and by personal example. The declaration and the proposed statute principles of the PRON--well, I do not question the fundamental nature of these documents, but our history has already witnessed so many splendid programs and manifestos. So then? Let us consider why so many well-intentioned Polish undertakings become duds. The failure to learn from history is our vice. These days people are mistrustful. They stand aside and look on. Is this an attitude worthy of Poles? After all, it is enough to ask...oneself for consent to act!

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Swinoujscie will have its own newspaper, if all goes well. The first issue is ready by now. The legally required documents have been transmitted to Warsaw and the forecast is favorable for ZYCIE SWINOUJSCIA, which is intended by its editors as a bimonthly. What kind of a newspaper will be that?

Danuta Szydlowska, director of the International Press and Book Club in Swinoujscie, said: "Its publisher is to be the Swinoujscie Society of Culture and its editors, persons rallied round the PRON. This movement will be given much space in our local periodical. The editors of the new periodical, who are complete novices at this trade, desire to dedicate their brainchild to providing information about social and cultural events."

Will ZYCIE SWINOUJSCIA be ephemeral? I do not think so and I predict a good future for it, because the inspirers of this project are among fervent "local patriots" of Swinoujscie. Just try to tell them that, off-season, the city is a "cultural desert." Such a suggestion has once been made in a socio-cultural periodical and it raised a storm.

Besides there is not a grain of truth in depicting the burg on the Swina River as a desert. Off-season, precisely after the last vacationer departs and the restaurants and amusements housed in Disneyland-like plywood buildings, all are shut down, the cultural centers pulse with normal life. This is not just a phrase. The aforementioned International Press and Book Club organizes several dozen cultural events, ranging from meetings with lawyers to painting exhibi-

tions, concerts, the little theatre, family soirees, etc.

Danuta Szydłowska said: "We're now organizing a family soiree unprecedented in Swinoujście. Swinoujście pioneers [first Polish settlers] will meet at our club. They will come with their children and grandchildren. Three generations of Poles! A huge cake will be on the table. It will be cut by the mayor of Swinoujście, who also will be a guest. We invited the pioneers and their families, regardless of views, fine points or opinions on the reality in Poland...

"Will we organize this soiree under the aegis of the PRON? What does patronage or aegis mean these days? After all, the activities of the PRON follow a quite different goal," says Pani Danuta and tells me of another unusual meeting held recently at the Swinoujście International Press and Book Club.

It was attended by local citizens, initially not represented in large numbers, coming from varied walks of life, young persons and the elderly, party members and non-party members, sad people and gay people, content people and bitter people. The invited guests were: Professor Waldemar Grzywacz, chairman of the TRW PRON in Szczecin; Kazimierz Lisicki, already introduced above; and Hieronim Reimus, a lecturer from the Province PZPR Committee in Szczecin. Initially the atmosphere at the meeting was vacuous, jejune even. But it became interesting after messieurs Reimus and Lisicki began their polemics. Was the period prior to December 1981 hurled accusingly as an example and were reproaches of demagoguery made? Not at all! This was an unusually intriguing dispute between a Marxist and a Catholic representing PAX...

"Perhaps this is just what we need when we speak of the need for pluralism in Poland?" wonders a participant in that meeting, a lawyer who asks that his name be not disclosed in this newspaper. "Because, you know, public activists in the past used to pursue publicity, whereas now the PRON should avoid media sensationalism and best limit itself to providing factual information about itself."

He continued: "I believe that we are on a good road toward that pluralism, that it is precisely the PRON that provides the beginning, a first-class forum on which different views can and should be contested. I am not in favor of the establishment of parlor political parties. I believe that the leading force in Poland can and should be exclusively the Polish United Workers Party. But is not it committing a certain mistake? At one time the party was criticized for having more intelligentsia than worker members in many of its cells, or for having too many intelligentsia members. This seems to me normal for Poland. It is simply that the more aware strata of society have been more rapid in joining the party--of course, without taking anything away from workers. Don't you agree?"

"I don't agree, but this is not important at the moment..."

"Exactly, exactly! Things will go well only when Poles will cease to be seemingly unanimous."

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Every weekday afternoon crowded ferries cross the Swina River and are moored at the jetty. There is standing room only on them. Their passengers are exhausted by all-day toil at the Repair Shipyard, the Deep-Sea Fishery Enterprise, the ODRA and other marine companies and enterprises. Many of them were born here in

Swinoujscie where Poland begins; this was the place of their childhood and this is the place of their adult life. Do they have enough strength and time left to concern themselves with the arcana of politics after the day's toil? This is a rhetorical question. Recently a thinking person declared that people want to relax and forget about reality. As for politics, that depends on the justice of the decisions made by the authorities. Some decisions are accepted and others criticized. This is normal, as in the entire world. But just try and tell them that they are living in a city which someone dislikes or that--as some Western politicians claim--their city should not be Polish....

Kazimierz Lisicki, whom I met again on the ferry across the Swina, declared:

"There, on the other bank of the river, a modern shipyard arose within several years. Its work force consists of people who had previously been farmers or peasants-laborers. Are they aware of this fact? Yes, and they claim that this could be possible only in communist Poland. That is why people were not convinced by the trend to negate everything that Poland has built. I often wonder about how much has already been said on both hemispheres about the vices of Poles. Since we admit having the most varied vices, let us do all to turn these vices into virtues, into precious values. Such must be the course of the PRON. With this, with the restructuring of human consciousness, should begin the building of not just the bridge but any lasting structure."

1386

CSO: 2600/811

PROBLEMS IN DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL AID VIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Joanna Trepkowska, Bozena Czyz: "What Happens to Gift Drugs?"]

[Text] Several months' shipments of pharmaceutical products have been arriving in Poland. They will alleviate our problems by supplying many basic drugs. A portion of them is delivered directly to health care centers, while others reach the addresses of churches or private individuals.

Lack of uniform means of distribution creates misunderstandings. The question--how and where to obtain the necessary medicine--is mainly advanced by patients. There are not only doubts concerning the filling of prescriptions. From letters reaching the editor, there is likewise evidence of abuse. Most frequently it involves the sale of gift drugs in private offices of doctors or at bazaars. Readers are likewise interested in the amount of aid received and the manner in which it reaches us.

Procedures

The addressee of a majority of the questions concerning gift drugs is the pharmaceutical department of the Ministry of Health.

All pharmacology supplies that enter the country through means of the Polish Red Cross, religious societies, social organizations, as well as private individuals, are received by patients free of charge--Vice-Director Joanna Gorska stated. They are destined for the hospitalized ill and those leaving the hospital, but whose condition requires the continuation of treatment previously initiated and also for ambulatory patients. The procedure for dispensing drugs by the health service centers is simple. At clinics, doctors dispense them against a receipt acknowledging free delivery. At points of free drug dispensation, these functions are performed by a pharmacist on the basis of a doctor's prescription, likewise against a receipt acknowledging delivery to the patient.

In what manner do drugs find their way into private offices? I think mainly through private packages. However, in compliance with instructions issued

by the ministry, all health service employees who receive private packages containing drugs from abroad should deliver them either to the Health Care Team [ZOZ] or the united hospitals. In Poland, private turnover of drugs is not permitted. However, I do not rule out that abuses likewise occur on the part of health service employees, or other individuals who have contact with drugs in the form of gifts or aid.

In the opinion of the department, it is difficult to evaluate the aid received. At first it appeared that it would be possible to "limit" it to drugs whose turnover is permitted in the country, and with which we have the greatest problems. Appropriate notices were even sent to donors. Some complied with the suggestions of the ministry, but the majority sends drugs at their own discretion. Hence, an enormous assortment of unfamiliar drugs arrive in Poland. What is worse--a portion proceeds from careless selection and does not always qualify for use. Their quality and expiration date arouses much apprehension. Hence, the necessity, in each instance, of an assessment by pharmacists and doctors. Sometimes research by the Institute of Drugs is necessary. Hence, it is not beneficial when the disposition of gift drugs is left to unqualified people.

Director Joanna Gorska is of the opinion that the pharmacological supplies received from abroad cover approximately 5 percent of planned requirements.

#### Practice

The first shipment of drugs reached the Prof Orloski hospital on Czerniakowski Street in Warsaw in December 1981. Packages--although today already sporadic--continue to arrive. ✓

Among the drugs sent in the form of aid, we separated over 5,000 items--Teresa Fogiel, director of the hospital pharmacy said.

They originated with private donors and were directed to us by the center for pharmaceutical supplies [CEFARM], or they were delivered by religious institutions. Predominant were antibiotics, sulfamides, vitamins and circulatory supplies. That medicine which we did not need was delivered to the gift drug pharmacy or to other hospitals--also in the region. Some packages we had to disqualify upon receipt. For various reasons, approximately 15 percent of the medication received did not qualify for use. The Institute of Drugs examined the greater quantity of drugs which we could not use, because they had exceeded the expiration date. In this manner, we saved 4 of the 6 tons of the drugs intended for kidney dialysis. We delivered to the veterinarian center, the entire huge shipment of Detreomycin, which for the longest time has had no world wide therapeutic application. In the aggregate, however, we made good use of the indispensable small medical instruments: needles and disposable syringes, transfusion apparatus, medical dressing supplies. Drugs are also distributed by the Church. Retired pharmacists who are engaged as voluntary workers fill prescriptions and examine drugs as to their usefulness and importance. How many such points there are in the entire country is not known.

## The Reliable Polish Red Cross [PCK]

International Red Cross aid organized through the intercession of the PCK warrants the greatest recognition.

Our organization intercedes in aid organized by the International Red Cross --states Dr Stefan Gregier, secretary of the PCK Main Board. It is of concern to us that the Polish health service receives drugs and small medical implements which are most difficult to acquire. Since last year, a program of scheduled aid is in existence which included all hospitals. The shipments contained small medical implements--needles, syringes, drains, surgical thread, other disposable items, as well as a 3 month hospital working supply of sterilizing agents. The program of projected aid was repeated twice. Currently we are awaiting implementation of a third. Shipments will be enriched by a certain amount of the most necessary drugs--antibiotics, chemotherapeutics and analgesics. This aid meets the needs expressed by us as to quantity, as well as to quality of items sent.

PCK likewise provides a special pharmacy for drugs derived through aid. The prescriptions of medical specialists are filled without charge. A special pharmacy is already functioning in Warsaw. We are also planning to start pharmacies in Bialystok, Rzeszow, Poznan and Wroclaw. Unfortunately, because of the lack of adequate locations, we cannot implement our intentions.

According to PCK estimates, the value of aid received through the intercession of the International Red Cross, as well as the League of the Red Cross and the Masons, exceeds 72 million Swiss francs.

The assortment of drugs sent in the form of aid and gifts is very rich. It is estimated that several thousand types arrived in Poland--in the Official List of Drugs there are 2,300 items. Pharmacists and physicians identify the medicines received with great difficulty, being aided by foreign therapeutic handbooks, and thanks also to the analysis of the chemical composition. Large quantities of the gifts sent, arrived at the health service, but there are some that must be collectively destroyed, because of toxicity or prior expiration.

It is, therefore, advisable that every package sent to Poland be directed to the proper health care center. For it is dubious whether the retired pharmacists, who for example voluntarily segregate the drugs in churches, are always in a position to adequately evaluate the medical value of the medication.

Furthermore, scattering of drug distribution points provides a hardship for the ill and their families. The Pharmaceutical Supply Center dispenses information regarding drugs delivered to the health care center. However, it is difficult for them to answer what the individual churches handle. It would, hence, be well if all gift drugs were to be delivered to one address and dispensed to the ill by means of a specified pharmacy outside of the hospital. One wonders at the slowness with which authorities of the individual provinces designate necessary space for this purpose. In closing, there is no shortage of empty shops.

9951

CSO: 2600/606



## MORALE STATUS IN LOCAL REGIONS NOTED

Action, Not Desires Needed

Lublin, SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 1 Mar 83 p 4

/Article by K. Kasprzak: "Will Good Intentions Be Enough?"

/Text/ The housing problem of many of the Lublin Voivodship schools is not to be envied. In order to secure all the present needs in that area one would have to allot to it the financial means of about 4 billion zlotys. However, this year's budget for education-related construction is only 300 million zlotys and has been earmarked for completion of the sites begun in previous years. There are almost 40 of these sites. In practice, till the end of the present five year plan, we will not be able to plan the investments for any new schools. Despite that fact the inhabitants of many areas make their attempt to improve the difficult teaching conditions for their offspring.

A few days ago we were able to participate in an enlarged farewell meeting of the National Council Village Presidium in Wilkolaz near Krasnik. This meeting took place in Rudnik, following the village local-government decision. The main topic of this meeting was the problem of an elementary school construction. Among other members, those participating in this meeting represented voivodship and village council-level party and administration, as well as the management of the Krasnik Regional Party Work Center.

Yet, at the beginning of the 1960's, the inhabitants of Rudnik and its surrounding villages: Wolka Rudnicka, Pulankowice and Colonia Ostrow for the first time presented an initiative to erect an elementary school in Rudnik. Since already during that period the housing conditions in the old barracks building presented many questions. In 1976 the children attending grades 1-4 begun their education in rented private buildings, while those attending remaining grades were bused to the Area Village School /AVS/ in Wilkolaz which was used to capacity. Unfortunately this situation continues.

This year 99 children attend the branch of the AVS in Rudnik situated in 4 rooms of a private home. Twenty-eight of those children are of the

kindergarten age. As of 30 June 1983 the owner of this building withdrew the rental agreement and that caused an understandable unease among the parents of many of these pupils. Eighty-five of the 5th- through 8th-grade children are being bused daily to the AVS in Wilkolaz which is 5-7 kilometers away from the individual settlements of that area. The classes start at 7 a.m. Thus, an especially hired PKS /State Motor Transportation/ bus begins its first run already at 6:45 a.m. (In January 1983 the use of it cost a 147,000 zlotys.) In 12 minutes or so, the bus arrives the second time to bring the remaining students.

What are the chances for improvement of such an inconvenient situation?

The assistant superintendent of the Lublin District, Antoni Wawer, states that with the present difficult economic conditions in our country establishment of a new elementary school building would be possible only if the people would want to build it through a community effort. In order to obtain the permit to do so from the head of the Voivodship, 30 percent self-financing must be collected for the school. This is quite a lot, considering the recent prices of building materials and labor. To erect an 8-grade-school building costs 50 million zlotys and a 4-grade one costs half of that. In order to initiate the construction of the smaller educational object through the community effort financial pledges totalling about 9 million zlotys must be collected from individual farmers and labor. Donations from enterprises and institutions from area villages as well as the agricultural development fund could be earmarked for that purpose. There are at present a few examples of such way of constructing elementary schools in the district of Lublin. Additionally, the housing of the classrooms could be rented from other farmers or a building could be purchased for that purpose.

"There are many difficulties connected with the construction of public utility structures by community effort," continues Henryk Wisniewski the head of the Village Office in Wilkolaz. "I myself had many occasions to find that out. Such a project cannot be done by blind optimism but by specific action. I would like to observe that the village does not have financial means at their disposal for that purpose. Therefore, we must hurry up to find a substitute location, so that the children would have a place to learn in Rudnik itself. It is impossible to bus all the children to the AVS in Wilkolaz, even now they are squeezed there."

This statement displeased those gathered in a classroom and a corridor filled to the brim. This was evident from a statement made by the president of the Second Community Committee for Construction of the School, Marian Czubinski. He offered his resignation in face of the doubts expressed by village members concerning the possibility of fulfilling that task. He reminded that it was possible to buy the building materials with money collected among the farmers 2 years ago; however, the authorities presented new types of problems at every step of the procedures.

"It seems to me," interrupts Natalia Szymanska, "that we who live in 4 villages could manage to construct a school as a community project. We have built a hard-surface road through Rudnik that way. In order to move on with the problem organizational matters have to be arranged first."

The tense atmosphere of the meeting was diminished only by Henryk Gakowski who had offered to sell for one and half million zlotys his own living quarters of 7 rooms situated on 1.06 hectares of land. His proposal was not accepted, however.

During further statements it became evident that a few years ago the construction of a new elementary school building had actually begun in Rudnik. The site for this educational enterprise was then fenced, a shed was built for construction materials and a well plus foundations had been actually excavated. However, later all that had been levelled to the ground by a bulldozer. In recent years only the weeds have been growing there.

Edward Stanko asks: "Who caused that situation? Had all these objects not been destroyed we would have a much easier time at the present."

"We also purchased the technical documents to construct the new school then," added someone in the room. "We are still in possession of these, but will we be able to use them?"

"It is the fourth time I have attended a similar meeting in Rudnik," states the first secretary of the Village PZPR Committee, Jozef Kawecki, "and the atmosphere has been always the same. We must decide as soon as possible what kind of school can we afford. We must rely chiefly on ourselves. It is true that our commitment will be difficult, but I think it is possible to construct this object so indispensable to us."

The farmers who then joined the discussion were interested mainly in the possibilities of buying the building materials which continue to present a problem.

The assistant superintendent, Antoni Wawer, responded that the "Voivodship Planning Committee in Lublin" has a duty to secure the supply of an appropriate amount of basic construction materials needed for the objects erected by the community effort. One condition must be met earlier, however. Thirty percent of the cost-value has to be documented."

Listening to the statements of the Rudnik inhabitants I was wondering whether their good intentions alone would suffice to construct the new school. Anyhow, the future will verify my doubts. I would like to participate in the opening of this educational object. Many youngest inhabitants are awaiting it. On them depends more than their own future.

#### Universal Support Needed for Country

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 Mar 83 pp 1,3

/Article by L. R.: "In the Forefront - Means To Be Everywhere."/

/Text/ We have been frequently wondering whether the process of change runs sufficiently fast. It is an immense process, encompassing all the practical avenues of our life. Is it commensurate with our needs and expectations?

There are many answers possible in this instance, many assumptions. Undoubtedly, an honest answer is needed to the question: Who and what is responsible for this process of change? We must have a reason recently to talk so much about the party and about its role in the process of socialist rebirth; we ponder together the form in which the party operates, and, the strength of its political influence and leadership abilities.

These questions can be, and let us admit it openly, are being asked frequently from various points of view. Let us recall the not so distant time when on the one hand, there were voices clamoring for the party's leadership role in the process of social rebirth of our country; while on the other hand, there was an increase in activities aiming to destroy the unity of the party and to bury the efficiency of its action in a quagmire of pseudoideological ponderings.

The program outlined by the 9th Congress' resolutions is a program document of fundamental importance for the future of our socialist state and for the role and tasks which the party has outlined for itself. Yet who is to fulfill these tasks in deeds? Will we, and if so, when will we overcome the divisions into "these" and "those ones" in our everyday practice? When will we stop the split between the authorities and society?

It is time, I think, to consider the price we are paying for this type of perception of our reality. We are paying for it at the cost of our entire society. Among other things, during the Warsaw Party Conference, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "The party is strong and effective as a steering force only in so far as each and every party member, and even more so, every party activist, behaves as if the management of the entire party and state depended on him personally."

In other words, the party's presence ought to be visible wherever there is even one party member. On each and every party member depends the fulfillment of the outlined party tasks in building socialism, in leading our country out of the crisis, in creating the appropriate atmosphere for the future safe and peaceful development of our country. The party, featured only as a definition in the declarations and program documents, does not exist. The documents and the programs will not change anything in our objective reality. What these programs will achieve through the work and positive posture as well as through the social action of party members will be of decisive importance. Thus, each of us will become important. Therefore, the party is where its members are. Where they are in the reality of their action, shaping their surrounding reality commensurately with their ideas and tasks. The party does not exist in practice where its presence is limited to membership statistics and to the roster of paid party dues.

Much has been said about it during the recently ended program-reports campaign. Much has been said especially about the role and condition of small organizations and about party groups activity. The discussion centered on the need of the active political stand where there are not many party members; it centered on the difficulty of that task, on the need to enlarge the different types of party connections, on the need of mutual support among party members who frequently feel alone in professional circles.

All this is true. The unity and the effectiveness of our political action requires this type of a stand. It requires that we develop a system of political education and ideological mobilization of our comrades who are in the front lines of the political struggle.

Let us also not forget, however, that neither any organizational system, nor any organizational ties and broader ideological knowledge would help when the basic ingredient that is the will to act is missing. In the course of several decades many comrades lost awareness of one of the most important elements of the party base. The Polish United Workers' Party is a class-oriented and revolutionary political organization. Thus, the party's revolutionary spirit ought to characterize its actions. It is not enough to carry a red ID in one's pocket. That fact must become an act of will for our political activity. Only then the party will be present everywhere, wherever at least one of its members is present. And only then could we speak about the party's organizational efficiency, about the effectiveness of its political action, and about the fact that the party is us and our comrades, who implant its ideas wherever they are.

In the course of the recent changes many people have left party ranks. The ones who did were those who "had hitched a ride as it was on their way." The ones who left were those who joined our ranks accidentally, oftentimes for profit. There were also those who treated seriously their party presence, however, whose views were in disagreement with the political interests of the working class. We exist side by side with people who would like to see the party emerge out of these changes weakened and deprived of the power to act. In basic units frequently a "principal lament" resounds over the party's condition.

It is not so! Those who lament have quickly forgotten that nobody else but the party and its members, who know what duties they have taken upon themselves by taking the red ID, proved that they are becoming that political force which knows how to put an effective stop to the spreading counterrevolution. The party became the force that met its task of creating a real program of action for today and tomorrow amidst the flood of demagoguery. The party became the force which has shown in practice, during the past several months, that it is capable of bringing shape to the political, social and economic facts, to the program it has constructed.

This force does not come out of the plenary meetings' discussions, nor out of ratified documents. It comes from the daily laborious effort of the party members wherever they may be. It comes out of the knowledge that the work of each of us is of decisive importance to the success of the entire program, that each of us, in what he does and what he forgoes, is responsible for the success of the cause. This force comes out of the knowledge that each party member must act in that manner because the management of the party and of the state truly depends on him personally. However, the sum total of our mutual effort is of importance as well. The society expects the party to be more and more effective in the sequence of the action that sustains the process of ongoing change. We are being evaluated by our work comrades in accordance with these expectations. We, the party members!

We are being evaluated in our individual postures, in the courage and zeal with which we undertake each human matter, and in our own struggle with all that hurts and stands in our way. In such manner is the picture of the party shaped, and this includes our own responsibility for the quality of this picture. The concern in this case is not with prestige, respect, or regard. The concern is in following the simplest and the most effective path toward obtaining the broad support of the working class for the party's program. The concern is to create the climate for for a mutual understanding and social cooperation in making it possible to come out of our complex and not easy situation. In that consists the leading role of the party in the process of socialist rebirth and in the building of a socialist Poland. The success of this task depends on what each of us brings in by his work and posture. Every day! Everywhere!

### Slogans in Party Activity

Rzeszoe NOWINY in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 3

/Article by Franciszek Lewicki: "Are we Short of Slogans? Party Is us its Members"

/Text/ "It is difficult since people continue to mistrust us." "We still continue to be a minority." "We have no catchy slogans." Such are the opinions frequently surfacing in discussions among the enterprise party members.

Undoubtedly, these are true opinions. But they must not make us prone only to complain about the difficult times and climate hostile for the development of party activities. I think they above all call for critical reflection and for finding answers to the two questions: "Why?" and "How?" Why are we mistrusted? Why are we frequently in the minority? Why do we lack the catchy slogans? And on: How do we need to act in order to regain trust? How do we believe that despite being in the minority we could still gain the support for our policy? How do we change the "catchy" into the true slogans which are realizable and which correspond to real social interests?

Such questions were posed at many of the party conferences during the reports campaign that has just ended. Those questions /can be counted/ as a great political achievement of the conferences. The problem is in the continuous maintenance of these questions on the agenda as the contents of the party work in our basic party organizations. It is there that the essence of the party's political activity is decided upon. This essence is to gain the support of the people for the party's program, and for its daily policies. In the basic party organizations only one of the main 9th Congress' slogans is being fulfilled. The slogan is: "The party is us - its members."

The social climate and human moods are being formed today to a certain extent by the economical crisis and by vexations of everyday life connected with it. This social climate is also created by the political struggle which is being fought in Poland and for Poland. The adversaries of the party are not choosy about their means in this struggle. They falsely accuse, divide society, kindle the mood of dissatisfaction, they tear at the wounds and they beguile with their "catchy" slogans. These tactics of the antisocialist

opposition should not surprise us. We must be aware of the fact that, one way or another, the opposition will continue to try to maintain this lack of trust in the party. The opposition has a much easier task than does the party. It is always easier to say "no," and to formulate slogans which cannot be verified in practice.

Aware of the fact that "people continue to mistrust us" we ought to conduct an open policy in the party. People must always know what we want, that we are striving for and what will it serve. That should be true both of the Central Committee and of the basic party organization. I am afraid today we cannot yet say that all the basic party organizations conduct their work in an open manner. Yet, this is one of the easiest ways to gain trust. Everything that we intend to do in the party, everything for which we strive must be directed toward the people, toward the human environment. In just the same way it must be the subject of social evaluation. Do we all do just that? Or are we still too frequently afraid of society "because it mistrusts us?"

That we are in the minority it is also true. However, the problem is not that party members should be in the majority, either in local government, or at some or another council, or on some or another commission. The reasons, the arguments, the attitude and example of party members ought to be gaining the support of the majority.

That is possible to achieve, provided that we are open in presenting our reasons and arguments. The party has such arguments, especially now when it became richer by the bitter yet also creative experiences of the past two years, and wiser with the achievements of the 9th Congress. However, it is not only the party that was learning something from the experiences of the past two years, or that was self-critical "to the limits of its endurance." As has been defined by a member of the Political Office, society at large was learning then as well, and so were groups of the working class. Among other things, society has learned how to tell apart falsehood and truth, political provocation and real political thought. We must remember that for it is an important matter for the party. Our party as a whole does not and did not play a false political game with our nation. We can and we ought to be trying to convince our society about that.

Finally: "We do not have any 'catchy' slogans." In reality we do not have the slogans which promise beyond the needs of the people and which beguile by cheap optimism. However, that argument is in our favor. We did not, nor do we intend to voice the slogans which would constitute false promises or which would cater to human impatience. I think, the people are also fed up with these "catchy" slogans. They want to keep firmly on the ground. They want to know what we can truly afford. They want the truth about the shape of our economy, they want to know our possibilities and our shortcomings. This is also the task not for the government and the Central Committee alone. This task of letting people know these things is for each party organization as well. Instead of the "catchy slogan" let each basic party organization /POP/ construct honest knowledge in the process of our management, how we

govern each specific link of our country's economic organism. Have all the party organizations been doing that? Do they show what every segment of our society can do rather than look for "catchy" slogans?

The party's activity is to obtain social support for the party program, especially to obtain the support from workers' groups. We have such a program. That is the program of lifting Poland out of the crisis. This program demands that our nation enter such a rhythm of social, economic and cultural development which will assure us and our children of a safe and relatively prosperous life in the future. The great majority of Poles are in favor of just such a program and aims.

#### Struggle, Work Needed in Crisis

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Mar 83 pp 1,3

/Article by Zdzisaw Grzyb: "The Time of Struggle and Work"/

/Text/ The third month of our successive crisis year is ending. Both the political and the economic horizons seem to look brighter. Slowly, making up for the losses, we are nevertheless beginning to move forward, even though we are still walking like a sick man who is not fully convinced that the medicine recommended to him is the only effective one.

Individuals, families and different social groups may have, and do have, quite distinct experiences of reality. Each experiences the statistical averages differently in their own lives. They justifiably compare these to the fullness of their own pockets. They estimate and some things do not come out even. They usually do believe that there is an inflationary overhang and a surplus of money on their impoverished market. Although it is known that had it been not for the fullness in some of the pockets, the black market and the speculation would not have spread their wings.

It has been a common practice to complain of the crisis ills, even though it does not mean that they have an equal impact on everybody. Some people are truly worse off, some complain out of habit, and others are quite well off and very well off. Among those who prosper there are always enough of the people who lie, offend the authorities, the system and the party. Others, whose political aspirations have been frustrated, also dislike everything. That is because they have and are aiming at the one thing only: to change the system and to ruin the state. Their political "programs" do not embrace the reforms, progress and normalization of life. Therefore, they continue to follow the path of negativism.

The Polish reality continues to be difficult and complex. It is important to perceive and decipher it correctly. It is important that, as many of us as possible understand and accept the occurring changes; although not all may do so; that is impossible. We are over 35 million citizens that differ greatly in our personal needs and feelings, in our knowledge, experience, intelligence, political views, consciousness and in our world outlook. We are concerned with the aware majority; we are concerned with those who perceive their own



and the country's future in constructing rather than in destroying, in correcting errors and in the elimination of evil, in the continuous improvement and modernization of government, social and economic structures.

We have not been ready to accept, politically and psychologically, the progressive changes we are experiencing. These changes are talked about because they hurt our pockets.

The outgoing older generations of people are accustomed to partial reforms which are ineffective in the long run. These people shock our youth that grew up in a relatively plentiful atmosphere, as not many of us took into account and were not ready for the sudden fluctuation of prices we are now experiencing. The discussion is different from the practical implementation of our necessary reforms. It is evident that trying to fit the new principles of work and thinking into our minds is as difficult as trying to squeeze them into the old managerial structures and practices. Therefore, we are experiencing problems with independence and self-management, especially so in the case of those people who were comfortable with directives and with assignments.

There is one other collective proneness we have in opposing changes. It is our individualism and our unwillingness to be subjected to directives and decisions. In general, that can be perhaps generously defined as a holding back from the concepts and activities of the authorities. That leads to a frequent search for loopholes which would permit avoidance of an ordinance. When that search does not succeed, the ordinances are then labelled as asocial and undemocratic. However, taking any unjustifiable reflexes aside, since the authorities may be also in error, one has to perceive in this case also our ugly custom of presenting our own opinion as a social judgement. In other words, what I think is our group's position becomes an obligatory mode of thinking for all, because it is good for all it should be so.

These specific stereotypes run rampant in our public life. It is a real inflation of ideas and proposals, the majority of which have a decidedly antireform flavor. In order to move forward a bit we must choose one concept: the reasonable suggestions that propose to perfect that reform are valuable, however, trying to restore the health of our country by the home-remedy method is very detrimental and does not benefit the situation at the national level.

Our social, national and state goals are clear. The party has stressed repeatedly that we must not depart from the goals outlined by the 9th Congress which follow the path of socialist restoration of the political, social and economic life of our nation. This path is a durable one and it is the only correct, vital and realistic path. This has been confirmed also in the course of the recent party reports-campaign. Despite the fact that our socioeconomic situation is more complex now than it was at the time of its planning, despite the sanctions and the pressures that some of the western governments began to exert on our country, this is the path we are going to follow with determination.

The goals and tasks must be achieved through the use of different economic as well as political mechanisms because our circumstances have changed to our disfavor. On the whole, according to the admissions of careful external observers, of those who stand as our friends and of those inimical to us, this is our great Polish experiment. It is conducted in an atmosphere which is far from normal because the distrust and suspicion in regard to the party and to the authorities will not disappear so fast. It will not disappear even as soon as the store shelves become full.

This experiment is our chance for a tolerable tomorrow. Therefore, we have something to fight for. Also we cannot withdraw from this experiment; for the return to the past from before August 1980 or before 13 December 1981, is possible only in the wishful thinking of various utopians, never is it possible in reality. Therefore, we must consistently go forward. We must shed the corset of sanctions and of the crisis. We must continue to eliminate different types of obstacles; those obstacles which have been recognized and the new ones that may result from our imprecise prognosis of the future.

I want to draw your attention to the two basic factors from the majority of factors on which the rate of our recovery depends. These are: the social atmosphere for the reforms and an increase in management effectiveness. I want to draw your attention to the definite goals that can be achieved in an atmosphere of social calm and faith in their fulfillment. Nobody intends to "tilt at windmills" or to build a "second Poland" or even a "second Japan." Our stern reality forces us to give up also many other myths. It forces us to believe in ourselves in our own strengths and possibilities which continue to be underfulfilled or are used uneconomically. The fuller and more rational employment of these possibilities demands calm, social discipline and obedience to the law. In what concerns reaching the supreme truths, on the other hand, we must perfect our social-democracy institutions. They guarantee to all of us an active participation in public life, in our comanagement and in our codeciding about our country's matters and about the matters that are closest to us all.

The fight for social consciousness continues. It is the fight for an atmosphere congenial to the reforms, for a trust in the authorities, for a national understanding. It is a fight against those factors which limit the socialist rebirth and which limit the further democratization of our public life and structures of the authorities. In what concerns the ideologies and politics this fight takes place on two different planes which have frequently diametrically opposed one another.

"It is in the best interest of our society to erase real political divisions," said Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Sejm last November. "It is against that interest to give us the impulsive and premature grade certificates. We do not take as the opposition those people who are lost, disoriented or simply duped. There are still quite a few of them."

So we are concerned neither with artificial divisions, nor with an increase of differences, nor with the levelling off to the existing differences. We need the stern naked truth. The political divisions do exist still. Nobody tries to hide that fact. We must see them; however, we must also see the potential friends and the declared enemies. The friends have to be won over for the sake of our national unity; while the enemies have to be consequently fought. These things have to be done because we recognize the supreme importance of our national interests and state causes over the temporary arguments.

The gentlemen born out of KOR /Committee for the Defense of the Workers/ and KPN /Committee of National Renewal/, the adventurers from the sign of political opposition, the leaders of the antistate underground, the various type of monsieurs Moczulski, Kuron, and Bujak, are and want to be in opposition to the authorities and to our system. They will not change, and it would be illogical to try to convince them that they are serving an alien cause. They are hardened by their lack of realistic perception and by the vision of a bourgeois Poland as if World War Two had never happened, as if there were no Yalta and Potsdam and political divisions in Europe and in the world; as if there were no military camps, no opposing political and economic systems, no nuclear blackmail, no psychological warfare, and no ideological struggle. Their way of thinking is maniacal for their vision of a nonsocialist Poland is a vision of nuclear war and a vision of holocaust. There is no other possibility to tear our country away from the political commonwealth to which it belongs.

This political type of adventurism, saturated by demagoguery and cynicism, counts on the continued existence of the long-range deestabilization of our country's life. The most emphatic proof of the anti-Polish attitude of the underground inspirers and organizers is their call to boycott our participation in public life, to sabotage the ordinances of the authorities, to slow down the rate of work, and it is in their call for economic sabotage and for the physical annihilation of their opponents. This is a foreign cause. Speaking explicitly, this business of holding Poland in a state of turmoil, unrest and conflicts is of foreign making. It is maintained by western conservative-militaristic circles. It is spread both by mercenary propagandists of the Polish-language broadcast stations from beyond the Elbe River and by the various political losers in our country who adorn themselves in the robes of "friends of the people, unionists, true patriots and democrats."

The road to mutual understanding is open to all who want it. It can be based exclusively on the respect of our socialist system principles. Restoration and the reforms become reality. Socialism undergoes metamorphoses as does every systemic formation. Contrary to the hypocritical statements of its opponents, socialism is a reformable system. Just as does every system and every state, ours must defend itself against both its external and internal threats.

We have not invented the rules of this struggle. They were imposed upon us. They must be hard towards those who continue to try to disturb the process of normalizing our lives while fulfilling the orders of various agencies.

On another plane is the struggle for those people who continue to be passive, who wait and stand aside, and who desire and are able to join the work on the national rebirth. Moreover, these who have gone astray have difficulty admitting that they have put their trust in slogans and myths, and they have become pawns in the hands of the political gamblers. For the benefit of our country we must act in unison and lift it out of the depth of this crisis. We must become concerned for sustaining calm and order and for creating the appropriate conditions for more effective work. Nobody has been known yet to make a living on good advice and alms. Yet, the reality is such that the world had not been standing still while we were going back and while we are now very slowly getting back on our feet and while our economy begins to show an occasional "jerk forward." Despite the recessions, crises, and local disturbances the nations and states press forward. Also, many of these countries benefit quite a bit by our persisting antagonisms, and marasmic disquietude; all that is appreciated in the name of discrediting socialism and Poland. These countries benefit from our persistent lack of faith in our own strengths and possibilities of straightening out ourselves.

Politics are only an extension of economics, and an expression of ruling class interests and the ability to have the upper hand over the situation. This is an old and always actual truth. It is quite sad for us. We have once again experienced that true friends are those who stand by you at the time of hardship. We know that we cannot put our living on credit and that one ought to be very careful when big national interests are at stake. We also know that every bit of help and every credit have some motives behind them and are not devoid of interest. The best example of that is the winning of our independence from western technologies and raw goods which have been used in the final outcome as the factors that "soften" socialisms and broadly infiltrate its ideology. The carefree attitude of our leaders from the 1970's is taking a harsh revenge on us.

It is and it will continue to be costly. For our so indispensable reforms are brought to life in a very unfavorable internal as well as external situation. Yet, we could not have procrastinated in the undertaking of these reforms. In order to provide for a better tomorrow, today we have to decide about a radical cut to bring to health our economy. We must assume an unpopular yet indispensable decision. We must continue correcting ourselves and not stray off of our outlined path, despite the difficulties. The false friends regarded that path until not so long as the fundamental condition of Poland's exit out of the crisis. Today, by the means of an economic boycott, political blackmail and masked psychological attack these false friends continue to try to slow down our Polish changes. So ideology is intertwined with politics only in a way only too tangible for us.

Our own problems must be overcome first of all by ourselves. We must remove the errors and deformations of the past from our social life and from our economy. We must remove the results of our archaic manufacturing methods that took place before 13 December 1981. The crisis will not disappear on its own. A miracle of sudden abundance of goods will not happen. The quantity of these goods depends less on government decision but it rather depends on the manner in which this decision is brought to life and it depends on the increase of the work productivity, discipline, on a better use of the working time, on limiting the wasting of the raw materials and goods, and on the introduction of the more effective production methods and work organization.

In the meanwhile, our reality here is gray. Our economy continues to be in trouble. While looking at the empty shelves we ought also to think of some reasons for this lack of supply. In 1982 the balance-sheet of work-time in our country was lower by 17 percent than in 1979. When we refer to some of the enterprises, saying that they work as before, or even better, we are forgetting about this tremendous loss of workforce. These 17 percent represents no other thing than the additional free from work days, the leave of over 500,000 women for child upbringing leaves and the leave of the 350,000 persons for an earlier retirement. Not all people perceive that even where there are no shortages of raw materials the third shifts of production have been abolished while the second shifts are not always fully manned, and that a tremendous amount of capital has been frozen in unused or only partially used machinery. We do not all visit the factories while we all go to the stores. Therefore we experience the reality from one side only and that is unavoidable.

The problem is that we should not see the one side only of either the political or the economic phenomena. We should avoid both the over-exaggerated and the too-bland perceptions. We ought not to live in deception, since the results of the crisis cannot be overcome through passivity, through complaints, insensitivity to manifested evil and through opposition to the actions and intentions of our authorities. The only cure for the crisis is the increase of work efficiency.

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CSO: 2600/734

SCHOLAR INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH ATTITUDE SURVEY RESULTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Grzegorz Nowacki, laboratory director in the Youth Research Institute, by Alicja Matynia-Bonik; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] For several years now you have been conducting scientific studies on the problems of youth. What is the aim of this research? What do sociologists want to learn?

[Answer] We are interested in the attitudes, behavior and political awareness of young people, that which forms their political culture. In the last three years we have been especially interested in the way the consciousness of the younger generation has been affected by the phenomena occurring during that period in Poland. We want to find out what changes occurred in the political consciousness of youth after significant developments, and have therefore just completed a third such survey in a short period of time.

[Question] Do you suppose that the political culture of youth is important enough to merit special study? After all, it is the privilege of young people to change their views. As they grow up, a polarization of these views occurs and only then do they attain a more stable political consciousness.

[Answer] If we are to build a socialist society, we have to understand and to be able to predict the attitudes of the people who make up this society. Unless we achieve a definite type of consciousness, we should not expect genuine participation by people in the process of socialist transformation. For many years we were mistaken when we claimed that the base, i.e., economics, would take care of all problems relating to the superstructure and to consciousness. It was assumed that economic growth would influence consciousness to such a large extent that there would be no room left for doubt. As we could see for ourselves, this was an erroneous assumption.

[Question] How many young people were polled in the latest survey?

[Answer] Unlike previous attempts, this last study, which was made in December and January, was a real representative survey. It embraced 6,000 students between the ages of 15-22 from all voivodships, and included

different types of secondary schools. They were all young people dependent on their parents for support; they were youths in the classical sense of the word.

[Question] Was the sample broad enough to allow for generalizations?

[Answer] Very much so.

[Question] What were the actual questions?

[Answer] The attitude toward the socio-political system is a very important matter from the point of view of political culture. Therefore, we started by asking the traditional question: what is your attitude to developmental trends in the world and in Poland; do you think Poland and the rest of the world should evolve in the direction of socialism or not? Of course, we always add that we mean a socialism concordant with theoretical assumptions. With regard to this question--the most general of all--we observed a certain stability of views. About half of the secondary school students think that the world should evolve in the direction of a socialism concordant with theoretical assumptions. However, a relatively large group, albeit smaller than in earlier surveys, does not share this view. One notable finding is that the number of young people who are undecided has increased. Perhaps this is a means of evading the question, but on the other hand I must admit that "lie-detector" questions built into the survey indicate both the frankness of the polled youths and a serious approach to our questionnaire. It may also be that an increasingly large proportion of youth are indeed undecided on this issue. This would point to a need for engaging in campaigns to heighten the awareness of young people. It is hard to accept a situation where one-third of the younger generation does not know what kind of a state they would like to live in and in which direction the country should develop.

[Question] What does this mean?

[Answer] I think it is a sign of the phenomenon of withdrawal into the domain of private life, of evading the most general questions. When the same questions were asked one or two years ago, the number of those who were undecided was definitely lower. In a survey made after the introduction of martial law, the "I don't know" accounted for 17%. It is now 30%, whereas in August 1980, it was as low as 10%. This, I think, shows that a certain group of young people are lost in present realities and do not really understand them. One oft-repeated view now is that young people are not against socialism; they are only against its deformations, against the lack of socialism in everyday life.

[Question] Don't you think that is a stereotypical view? What did your studies reveal in this respect?

[Answer] Young people take a rather specific view of socialism. For example, they think that social egalitarianism, which is a socialist value, should be reflected in curbing the highest earnings. However, at another point, they

demand differentiated wages, depending on their level of education or skill. They are in favor of the policy of full employment, but they also think that enterprises which lose money should close down and inefficient workers should be dismissed. They want full self-government and a broader role for the private sector in the areas of trade and services. There are many inconsistencies in young people's perception of reality. Some opinions, implanted in their minds many years ago, go hand-in-hand with contradictory ones.

[Question] Who, according to the results of the survey, exerts the greatest influence on shaping young people's world outlooks and political awareness?

[Answer] We tried to find out what interests young people and where they get information. In the first place, they are interested in the purpose of life and in human dignity. They learn about those subjects from books, at home, and from the Church, as most of them say they believe in God. There is a fairly broad interest in the origin and structure of the universe. In response to the question about sources of information, nobody mentioned youth organizations as being very important, despite the fact that one of their primary aims is to educate and shape the views of their members. The survey confirmed that young people are particularly sensitive to ethical problems.

We also wanted to find out about young people's attitude toward the main political forces in Poland. I have to admit that a change occurred in this respect in comparison to earlier studies. After a period of low ratings, the PZPR received slightly better marks this time. The disproportion between those who assess the party positively and those who do the opposite is not as large now, but again we have a growth in the number of those undecided. More and more young people are beginning to notice the programs the party brought to society after the imposition of martial law. They believe--at least part of them do--that implementation of these programs may help extricate the country from the crisis. One welcome sign is that young people do not identify the government with the party and they are aware of their different roles in Poland's socio-political system. The government enjoys much confidence among young people and many of the persons polled believe that it represents the interests of the entire society and acts in defense of workers. Meanwhile, the social prestige of the Church remains high.

[Question] It can be said that the problems of youth are at the center of widespread concern. What do young people perceive as their role in this country?

[Answer] Most of them are convinced that adults are not able to understand or communicate with contemporary youths.

[Question] It's the eternal generation gap. It has always been that way.

[Answer] No, not always. If we look at Professor Stefan Nowak's study published in 1976 we see that the different generations shared more than accepted values; they also had social positions and the economic situation



in common. The differences between the older and the younger generations must have been negligible, since Professor Nowak summed them up by saying that "the apple never falls far from the tree." At present, to continue the metaphor, the tree bears fruit which hardly resembles the original apple.

[Question] So we have a new generation, referred to as the post-August or the 1980-82 generation. But does it really differ so greatly from previous ones?

[Answer] In my opinion, we are really dealing with a new generation, which has different behavior patterns, and political attitudes from those of their predecessors. This was primarily determined by two factors, the serious economic crisis which has affected all of society, and the political developments of the 16 months that followed the August 1980 events. These two factors determined the initiation of this generation of youngsters into adulthood.

[Question] But is this determinant strong enough to overcome traditional attitudes and aspirations characteristic of at least the last several generations of Poles?

[Answer] It appears that the generation in question refuses to imitate the grownups' attitudes and to cherish the same values. Young people demonstrate their uncertainty about the conditions involved in beginning independent lives and about career prospects. They are suspicious of all public institutions and important persons, and they show signs of internal division. They say that they want to influence reality through their work, their knowledge and their involvement but, at the same time, they strongly believe that they will not be able to do so for objective reasons, because of the numerous barriers in the way. This shows that [adults] are still not communicating with young people, or they are going about it the wrong way. Besides, there is a lack of educational activity in schools and in organizations.

[Question] In crisis situations, when value systems are upset, a big role is played by role models, which people tend to imitate.

[Answer] Of course, role models are important and I am surprised that as many as 84% of those polled could name another Pole whom they regarded as a role model commanding respect and admiration.

Those currently in power, as a rule, come under critics' fire. Meanwhile, General Jaruzelski ranks high as a model. He is respected for having the courage to impose martial law and to take matters into his own hands. Other admired people are John Paul II, Cardinal Wyszynski and, in the group of working class activists and state leaders, Wladyslaw Gomulka.

The survey revealed an enormous thirst for historical knowledge about recent times. Young people are interested in some World War II developments, in the shaping of new neighborly relations, and in the reasons for the eruption of political crises in Poland. They complain about the superficial way in

which these subjects are treated in school textbooks, a fact which encourages them to look for more detailed information on their own. As we know, the sources they turn to are not always objective.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that your survey's results may share the fate of earlier studies, which were buried at the bottom of some drawer?

[Answer] I still hope that, before these results are buried in a drawer, people responsible for shaping the policy on youth problems will draw the right conclusions. Obviously, the opinions compiled will keep evolving, and it cannot be ruled out that some of them may change into lasting anti-socialist attitudes. This can be prevented, provided a number of assumptions is made, the most important of which is the proper educational role of schools. A truthful, in-depth information campaign and dialogue with young people is also very significant. If we present young people with the one and only official interpretation of some phenomenon, it will be rejected. This is only natural with youth.

Some institutional guarantees proposed at the 9th PZPR Central Committee plenum have become a reality. For example, the Committee for Youth Affairs has been established to oversee the living conditions of young people. The draft of a law on youth is also being prepared. As a result of these processes, something should change in Polish social life. Until this happens, let us not delude ourselves that the consciousness of young people will change of its own accord. This generation must start living independently, pursuing appropriate roles, and actively participating in solving this country's daily problems. When this is completed, we may then speak of partnership and education.

CSO: 2600/868

WARSAW MAYOR SUSPENDS FINE ARTISTS UNION

'PAP' Announcement

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Apr 83 p 2

[Article: "Decision by the Mayor of the Capital City of Warsaw: The Change of the Date of the 17th General Assembly of the Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts"]

[Text] A press spokesman for the Office of the capital city of Warsaw has informed the Polish Press Agency of the decision by the mayor of the capital city of Warsaw concerning temporary suspension of the activity of the Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts [ZPAP] and of the postponement thereby of the date of the General Assembly of ZPAP for two months.

In a justification of the decision, it is emphasized that the Main Board of ZPAP, at its meeting on 20 April, did not comply with the decision by the mayor of the capital city of Warsaw who, as a registration authority, had requested withdrawal of resolutions transcending the statutory goals and tasks of ZPAP; likewise, the same [Main Board of ZPAP] did not comply with the decision of the Minister of Internal Affairs which reaffirmed the validity of the mayor's decision.

The decision to postpone the assembly was based on ample evidence which indicated that the ZPAP assembly which was being planned for 22 April might be used for antisocialist political activity which was contrary to the statute and had no relation to the professional and artistic interests of the fine arts community and thus might become a factor which would disturb the continuing process of normalization in our country.

The objective [of the decision] is to facilitate further talks between government authorities and ZPAP leadership in order to create conditions for an assembly whose results would be favorable for the fine arts community and which would conform to the principles of the government's cultural policy.

It is worth noting that this decision, like the decision concerning the resumption of ZPAP activity, is a manifestation of the eagerness of the authorities to insure the participation of the professional and creative

representation of the fine artists in the solution of difficult problems of this creative group which has been particularly affected by the economic crisis.

'TRYBUNA LUDU' Commentary

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Marek Meissner: "When Realism Was Lacking"]

[Text] For over two years, a group of activists of the Main Board of the organization of artists in the fine arts was steering the organization in the direction of ever more pronounced political opposition, having suddenly felt a vocation to determine our government's domestic and foreign policy. The resolutions and memoranda of the Main Board ever more explicitly showed support for the programs and actions of the political opposition; they "expressed indignation" with regard to the need to reaffirm the precedence of the principles of our system in the preamble to the statute of NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarity"; they "demanded" cessation of trade exchange with the CEMA countries; and they "did not approve" expenditures for our country's defense. If such formulations are found, e.g., in a private letter to an editor, then it would be possible to assume that the sender was not well informed about his country's economic and political situation; but their inclusion in the resolutions of the authorities of a 12,000-member union of creative artists cannot but be regarded as a clear manifestation of a political struggle.

After all, many members of the union openly disassociated themselves from the activity of their Main Board, pointing out that it was in the nature of political opposition and was clearly contrary to the ZPAP statute.

For a long time the Main Board, involved in its political game, refused to cooperate with the Ministry of Culture in matters pertaining to the material conditions of the work of the union's members, by either not participating, or merely passively participating, in meetings and discussions during which the vital questions of this community were resolved. This often caused difficulties and delays in the implementation of some objectives; the responsibility for this was promptly and eagerly placed on the authorities, which allegedly were unfavorably disposed toward the [artistic] community and were negligent in meeting its requests and demands.

The most recent example of this conscious waging of a political struggle by the Main Board of ZPAP was the election campaign prior to the forthcoming General Assembly of Union Delegates. In election caucuses, and in the union's districts and sections, an atmosphere of special pressure was created with regard to those artists who dared to mention the union's statutory obligations, to urge calm within the union, and to call for cooperation with the authorities in creating a platform for national understanding. In the majority of meetings there was no place for a dialogue--there was only a monologue of representatives of a part of the [artistic] community, who rejected all cooperation and understanding. Widely disseminated was the slogan "Do not

elect party members as delegates to the assembly"--although in the meeting hall many speakers in succession declined the word "democracy" in all the grammatical cases.

Preparations were being made for an assembly that was to be a consolidation and reinforcement of the opposition, with its program of "total rejection" of our society to cooperate in any form with the authorities, with its assignment of roles in protests and boycotts, and its seeds of later disturbances and demonstrations of hostility toward the government.

In this situation, a decision was made to temporarily suspend the activity of the union. The government made this decision subsequently to previously given warnings. It had expected, until the last moment, some manifestation of realism, some no matter how cautious attempt to resolve the existing inflamed situation, and at the very least a retreat from those aspects of political activity that were regarded [by the authorities] as the most negative.

Nothing like this happened.

The decision [to suspend the Union] could have been avoided, but the self-opinionated group of activists of the ZPAP Main Board lacked simple realism; they lacked awareness of their responsibility to the whole [artistic] community for the conditions of its artistic and everyday existence and opportunities for continuing its growth.

Today, on the field of a political battle, there have remained 12,000 members of the union, the majority of whom did not even have sufficient knowledge of what was really occurring in the union.

There has also remained the question: "Will the union's activists draw appropriate conclusions from this situation?"

#### 'PZPR' Official Justifies Decision

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 p 4

[Statement by Grzegorz Sokolowski, deputy director of the Department of Culture, PZPR Central Committee: "In Connection With the Suspension of ZPAP: A Forced Decision"]

[Text] The decision of the mayor of Warsaw to suspend the activity of the Polish Union of Artists in the Fine Arts was made in the evening of 20 April of the current year, one and a half days before the beginning of the sessions of the 17th General Assembly of Delegates of ZPAP. Consequently, the assembly was postponed. A trustee and his plenipotentiaries, appointed by the mayor of Warsaw, took over the managerial functions in central and local organs of ZPSP.

What caused this decision? Could this decision have been prevented? Were there no chances to come to an understanding or to find some compromise solution?

Answers to some of these questions can be found in the Polish Press Agency communiques of 15 and 20 April, in some statements by fine artists and in articles which recently appeared in the Polish press.

But, most certainly, the above sources have not presented all the arguments which would explain the need for taking the above decision, and have not dispelled all the doubts that are related to the former. Consequently, I shall attempt once more to present to our readers all the reasons for which the above decision was taken.

The living standard of the artists certainly has a large impact on the political situation that has existed in the community of fine artists. This living standard has been lowered considerably, which has caused dissatisfaction and bitterness in this community and has been skillfully utilized by forces of political opposition, the latter placing the responsibility for this state of affairs on the authorities and also, which has been very characteristic recently, on the system of economic and social reforms that are being implemented at present. Thus, please note that it is no longer the erroneous policies of the 1970s. and not the economic crisis, but the system of reforms that is being depicted in this community as the source of the current problems and difficulties. An example of views of ZPAP leadership that correspond to this attitude can be the following excerpt from a draft resolution of the Main Board [ZG], the former having been discussed on 21 November 1982, which reads: "...political and social reforms which are being introduced by the state represent an indirect or a direct threat to the growth of culture in our country..."

It was against this kind of social background that the battle was waged during last year for a type of activity of the Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts that would conform to the law about associations and to its own statute. Thus, the battle was waged under difficult conditions.

The Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts was, by a decision of the mayor of Warsaw, permitted to resume its activity, without any prior conditions, on 30 April 1982. This decision was made on the basis of petitions which had been presented by the community's party organizations and by a number of prominent artists in the fine arts. It was founded on the desire that this largest artistic community in our country, which at the same time was the one most affected by the crisis, should regain as soon as possible its professional and artistic representation that would initiate activities aimed at defending this community's influence on the shaping of our government's new cultural policy.

Unfortunately, these hopes remained unfulfilled. The leadership group of members of the presidium of the Main Board of ZPAP, which gave direction to the Union's work, regarded political-type activity as its priority objective, while in its relations with the state authorities and administration it followed the strategy of "rejection" to participate in solutions and decisions concerning a number of problems of the fine arts community as well as more general problems of the shaping of the new cultural policy of the state. A particular role in advocating this policy was played by Jerzy Puciata, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts [ZG ZPAP]. Without regard to

the public character of his function, he would not hesitate to pronounce his opinions on subjects which had nothing in common with the scope of activity of ZPAP, with creativity in the fine arts, or else with the professional and social concerns of the community. He would present views which had not been consulted with the community and which, because of the existence of differences as to politics, ideology, and world outlook in this community, did not have even the slightest chance of obtaining uniform support.

The views of the president of the union, and of members of [ZPAP] leadership who were associated with him, had considerable impact on the policies, attitudes and decisions of the authorities of ZPAP. However, not all the members of the union's leadership can be charged with accepting these views without criticizing them. Very often these views would be criticized and resisted by a considerable part of the members of [ZPAP] leadership. Criticism of the policies of the leadership of ZPAP was also heard quite often from the Party Group of ZPAP and expressed in press communiques dealing with meetings of this group.

Let us put together all the critical remarks, and requests and demands of a political character that are contained in various resolutions of ZPAP leadership. These include, among other things, condemnation of the fact of internment and a demand for the release of internees, a demand for an amnesty for those who were sentenced under the provisions of martial law, a protest concerning the dissolution of the Polish Journalists' Union [SDP] and a demand for its reinstatement; a protest concerning the prolonged suspension of the Union of Polish Writers [ZLP] and of the Polish Film-makers' Association [SFP]; a protest against the dissolution of the Union of Polish Actors [ZASP]; and a protest against the dissolution of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity."

The broad nature of these demands is becoming clear. It is a demand to restore the political reality which existed before 13 December 1981.

In view of this, let us address a few questions to the community of artists in the fine arts. Are its best interests really served by a return to that moment in the history of the last few years of our country at which the independent existence and the fate of the Polish state were jeopardized by the threat of a civil war that was looming larger every day? Are the interests of the community of artists in the fine arts served by a systematic disintegration and decline of our national economy, which at that time were reaching disastrous proportions?

The political activity of the leadership group of ZPAP increased considerably and became more vigorous during the period of report and election campaign at general meetings in the districts and at meetings of sections which were to choose delegates to the 17th General Assembly of Delegates of ZPAP.

Incidentally, characteristic is the fact that a clear minority of ZPAP members took part in this campaign. To give you an example, the general meeting of members of ZPAP of the Warsaw District whose total membership is approximately 3,700 artists in the fine arts, was attended by not quite 10 percent of members.

Approximately 200 persons were present in the meeting hall at the moment of introduction of a resolution of a clearly political character.

I touch upon this subject not in order to question the legality of the [election] campaign, because the union's statute permits this manner of campaigning, but only in order to emphasize that resolutions which are introduced during a campaign do not always express the wishes and convictions of the majority of members. This fact is, after all, stressed in a resolution of the executive board of the basic party organization of the Union of Polish Artists in the Fine Arts [POP ZPAP] of the Warsaw District, which states, among other things: "...The content of the resolution (of the general meeting--G.S.) goes beyond the statutory objectives of our union and is detrimental to the union's cooperation with the authorities. The executive board as a whole assesses this resolution negatively as a continuation of the politicking activity of some ZPAP activists. This activity is the reason why the majority of members demonstratively refrained from participating in election meetings of delegates to the 17th General Assembly of ZPAP..."

Noting the process and the results of the union's election campaign as well as the considerable involvement of antisocialist political opposition which aimed at making the nature of the campaign as political as possible, the authorities initiated a number of preventive and cautionary actions.

At a press conference in the Ministry of Culture and Art [MKiS] on 14 February of this year, clear reference was made to the obligation of ZPAP to focus on activity which conforms to its statute and to the law concerning associations. Also mentioned, and quoted in the press, was the pertinent excerpt from the law concerning associations which provides for the possibility of applying sanctions of various kinds to associations. These sanctions include a demand to rescind resolutions that were passed but do not conform to the law; they also include a formal reprimand, suspension of activity, or even dissolution of an association.

In the circles of the Main Board [ZG] of ZPAP, the above was commented as an attempt at intimidation and as an empty threat of the authorities; such views were widely disseminated in the community.

As we know, on 31 March the mayor of the capital city of Warsaw formally reprimanded the Main Board [ZG] of ZPAP and demanded abrogation of a number of resolutions that did not conform to the regulations of the law concerning associations and to the ZPAP statute. The appeal of the Main Board [ZG] of ZPAP from this decision to the minister of internal affairs was rejected; the minister, on 15 April of this year, confirmed the validity of the decision of the mayor of Warsaw.

Only this fact induced the presidium of the Main Board [ZG] of ZPAP to begin talks with representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Art [MKiS] and of the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw. These talks were held on two days--15 and 18 April of this year. In the course of the talks, it was agreed that at a meeting of the ZPAP Main Board [ZG], which had been announced for Wednesday, 20 April of this year, members of a delegation of the Main Board would present the following demands for discussion by the Main Board:



--postponement of the date of the 17th General Assembly of Delegates as a necessary condition for the continuation of talks between representatives of government administration and the presidium of the Main Board [ZG];

--taking note of the decision of the mayor of the capital city of Warsaw, issued on 31 March of this year.

During the course of the talks, it was also agreed which resolutions of the Main Board [ZG] should be abrogated in their entirety and which should be abrogated only in part; with regard to some resolutions, representatives of the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw, on the mayor's authorization, withdrew their demands for their abrogation.

The plenum of the Main Board [ZG] of ZPAP, which met on the 20th of this month, did not accept any of the above demands, despite the fact that it had the opportunity to listen to a justification for a postponement of the assembly's date, given by Witold Nawrocki, director of the Culture Department of PZPR Central Committee [KC], who had been specially invited for this purpose. The proposal to postpone the date of the assembly was rejected by a vote, with 3 voting against out of 8 abstaining--out of 24 members of the Main Board [ZG].

And here is the text of the resolution which was approved by the Main Board [AG] of ZPAP and delivered at the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw:

"The Main Board of ZPAP, which met in the presence of new district chairmen of ZPAP, elected during the current report and election campaign, who were invited to the meeting, after hearing reports on the current situation of the union and the actions of the presidium and of the latter's members since 8 April 1983 of the current year, has resolved:

1. To take note of and to approve the actions of the presidium of the Main Board of 9 April 1983 and which aimed at clarifying the controversies which had arisen in connection with the audit of the union having been carried out by the registration authority and in conformity with the prepared protocol. To commit the present and newly-elected statutory authorities to a continuation of these actions until final clarification of controversial issues.

2. To recognize [the fact] that holding the 17th General Assembly as scheduled, in conformity with the wishes of the delegates and the ZPAP statute, will facilitate an objective and calm evaluation of the work of the statutory organs of the union in the period from May 1980 to the present time and will make it possible to chart the program of ZPAP for the next few years.

3. To appeal to the delegates to treat the coming sessions of the General Assembly of Delegates [WZD] as a platform for discussion of the increasingly more difficult conditions of life and work of ZPAP members and the objectives of the union and its authorities which are related to the former. The guiding principle of the working forum of our community should be concern for our national culture and for the social and professional status of an artist in the fine arts."

In the position of the Main Board of ZPAP as expressed in the resolution, the decision of the mayor of Warsaw and of the minister of internal affairs were totally ignored; one could say that they were taken lightly. The Main Board of ZPAP did not take any attitude toward the results of the talks which the presidium of the Main Board and its delegation had held on the 15th and 18th of this month with representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Art and the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw; and it did not accept the proposal to postpone the date of the 17th General Assembly of Delegates of ZPAP. This proposal was rejected [by the Main Board] despite arguments, presented by representatives of the authorities, that the Assembly was going to be utilized as a place for antisocialist political demonstrations which were contrary to the union's statute and which obviously would be detrimental to the vital concerns of the community of artists in the fine arts and would threaten the interests of the Polish state.

In this situation, the authorities took a decision to suspend the activity of ZPAP. This decision was taken in the name of the reason of a state that was concerned about its domestic and international interests.

Let us say frankly: this decision had not been intended, but was forced on the authorities; it was a necessary decision, aimed at preventing greater harm.

The authorities intend to promptly resume talks with the presidium of the Main Board of ZPAP and with representatives of party organizations of the community of artists in the fine arts, and to hold these talks during the entire period of the union's suspension until reaching an agreement. The subjects of the talks should include all the matters pertaining to this community, the activity of ZPAP, as well as preparations for the 17th Assembly of [Delegates of] the union.

9577  
CSO: 2600/789

PARTY DAILY COMMENTS ON NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

AU271300 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Commentary by Anna Pawlowska: "A Difficult Trial for Trade Union Activists"]

[Text] On 17 April, the State Council chairman, exercising the powers he received from the Sejm last October, issued a resolution "concerning the principles and methods of setting up national trade union organizations." Thus, the trade movement has commenced a new page in its history.

Right now, over 2 million trade unionists comprise about 10,000 separate plant organizations, half of which have already elected their authorities. At the same time, however, a visible tendency for individual industrial branches and professions to integrate themselves has been visible for at least a month. Steelworkers, miners, teachers, Polish State Motor Transport workers, textile workers, glaziers and railroad workers from the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops [ZNTK] have been working on concepts for their own national organizations. In fact, it is trade unionists from 46 steelworks who were the first to approach the State Council for permission to set up the Federation of Steelworkers Trade Unions in Poland. So far, 77 unions with almost 62,000 members have already applied to join the federation.

The End of the Transitional Stage

As envisaged at the very beginning, the new map of trade unions will take shape gradually and in various ways. The federation variant (by which all trade unions retain their separate legal status) will certainly not be the only variant, nor even the predominant one, I think. For instance, agricultural workers seem to prefer a single trade union. They are making themselves heard, just like the glaziers who have their traditional arrangements and who were once frustrated by the fact that the trade union movement was deprived of its powers.

The State Council resolution lays down the conditions whereby trade union structures at above factory level can be set up. Over half the trade unions in a given industrial branch or profession must express their desire for such a trade union structure. So there is no departing from the trade union forms which working people themselves desire, in accordance with the party "stance

on the rebirth of the trade union movement" which was adopted by the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

By its very nature the trade union movement cannot be active only at factory level. The authors of the Sejm trade union law, which regards the "trade union era" as a transitional stage dictated by exceptional conditions, were fully aware of this. It is natural for this movement to join together people sharing the same type of work and sharing the same interests and goals resulting from this. Thus, the State Council decision gives trade unions a major chance for further development, but does not automatically remove them from all the difficulties and complications involved.

One can be quite certain that the creation of national trade union structures will cause another wave of attacks by the political opposition and their foreign prompters. However, this does not seem to be the most important matter--what is more important is that active trade unionists have succeeded in organizing themselves within the space of several months and have become immune to intimidation and threats. At the same time, unions in most plants have displayed helpfulness toward the work forces and determination in dealing with workers' affairs.

#### A Severe Confrontation

In my opinion, therefore, the new attempt to establish a trade union movement will be made in a completely different setting: a severe confrontation with the economic reality.

Life's conditions give rise to grudges and demands from the workforces. This can be seen with the naked eye and is not at all surprising. What is also obvious is that the possibilities of settling these grudges and demands are extremely slight, and often even non-existent. The battle against inflation demands taking less of what there is to offer and increasing production efforts. And it is here, between the hammer represented by the consequences of the crisis and the anvil represented by the burdens of life suffered by the workers' class, that the trade unions will have to take their first steps, freeing themselves from the previous purely inner-factory arrangements.

The state authorities are not only ceaselessly confirming their will to consult with the trade unions on problems and solutions vital to working people and their families, but also practically implementing this will in socio-political life. So far, however, it has only been possible to do this in a haphazard way, for one cannot sit down to talks with 10,000 plant trade unions. Now the situation will begin to change. The national union authorities--whether in a single union or a federation--will have to create for themselves a system whereby they can consult plant trade unions, so that a stance on specific workers' issues can be worked out and that negotiations can be held with the state administration.

Here, one should be very much aware of how much the increased independence of enterprises is the result of economic reform. Once, a trade union's only

partner, often a peremptory and arbitrary one, was the appropriate ministry, on which any decision depended. Today it is completely different--the powers of an enterprise's management and self-management body do not depend on a ministry. It is difficult to foresee how this will effect trade union practice in situations where difficult problems are beyond the strength and capability of a plant trade union and where the plant trade union will have to want to seek the help of the national union.

However, it is not difficult to imagine a situation where a trade union covering an industrial branch or profession will fight to achieve the best working conditions and wages equal to those achieved by some factory trade union. And yet achieving these conditions might be impossible in some plants, not through ill will on the part of the administration but because of worse economic conditions inside the plant. I have only mentioned here some examples of the problems which the trade union movement will encounter. Life is bound to provide rather more of them.

Let us add the following obvious truth as well. Both plant leaderships and ministries have grown accustomed to the convenient absence of trade unions at a national level. Giving up this comfortable feeling will not take place without a conflict, all the more so because many signatories of various agreements, and not only those on the trade union side, have lost their powers, and their successors may be very reluctant to respect agreements made by someone else.

#### To See and Hear

The draft government anti-inflation and savings program already contain proposals on how gradually to suspend or restrict some of the features workers have won (concerning, for example, how many hours a working week should have, special privileges resulting from professional diplomas and so on). What is more, the motives behind these proposals are given. For when systemic solutions and practices are being implemented, there is no other way to deal with these issues except through negotiations. So trade union activists are going to face a difficult trial. For the question is not to make concessions easily, but keep one's eyes and ears open to reality so that group interests are not placed before common social interests.

A real and responsible representation of the working world must master a difficult art: It must listen carefully to the voice of the work forces and accurately observe reality. We already know where "good authorities" who distribute more than they possess are leading the country; and we already know what "good trade unions," which like to distribute assets without noticing how they are produced, have in store for working people. The effects of this kind of activity have only one name: crisis.

A real and responsible representation of the working world means that every worker, every working team and every professional group should attain everything that is possible, just by working class standards and motivated by work results. That is all and that is enough.

This is why strong, mature, intelligent and bold trade unions are needed.

CSO: 2600/870

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES STEELWORKERS' DELEGATION

AU091053 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 May 83 p 2

[Report on speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, during a meeting with a delegation from various steelworks in Poland on May 4 in Warsaw]

[Text] Speaking to the delegates representing the 250,000-strong force of Polish steelworkers, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that increasing metal production is helping create real conditions for emerging from the crisis more quickly. Referring to the problems which had been touched upon, he said that modernizing the steel industry will be the subject of talks by the Government Presidium.

General W. Jaruzelski pointed out the role of foreman, saying that the position and professional and educational influence of foremen are of fundamental importance for shaping the prestige and honor of the profession. This is one of the conditions behind putting the work forces at rest and making young people join steelworks.

W. Jaruzelski also showed interest in the activity of the new trade unions. Out of the 250,000 people employed in the steel industry, about 90,000 already belong to the new trade unions. On 28 April, representatives from 90 steelworks were the first workers in the country to set up a founding committee for a future federation of steelworkers' trade unions. On 3 May, the founding committee applied to the State Council for permission to set up the federation.

To end the direct and warm talks, General W. Jaruzelski thanked the steelworkers for their toil and effort up to now and wished all brother steelworkers all the best on their holiday.

CSO: 2600/869

HARASSMENT OF EMIGRES DISCUSSED BY 'LE MONDE'

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by B. G.: "Sinister Thriller"]

[Text] In the middle of January, the weekly of the Writers' Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania, LUCEAFARUL, began publishing a long series of articles condemning the activities of Romanian emigres in the West. Even including the incredible violence of these articles, the thing is so trite that it would not even have been necessary to call attention to it if, at the same time, an agent of Bucharest's secret services, the infamous Securitate, had not arrived in France.

Paris is the favorite city of Romanian emigres because of their country's French-speaking and francophile tradition. It is not known what this agent, answering (real or false identity?) to the name of Bistran, would have done here. As a result, the reason why he was sent here is no longer a mystery.

Because, on 10 February, at 11:00 am, two employees of the Directorate of Territorial Surveillance (DST) presented themselves, in the Buttes-Chaumont quarter, at the home of Virgile Ierunca, a literary critic who has taken refuge in France since 1947, to advise him to be careful in his movements. Without giving too many details, they explained to him that, having given up his mission--to assassinate him, Bistran had moved from France to West Germany and that they themselves had just been informed of the confessions that he had made voluntarily to the German services.

Some details--those that are beginning to seep out--say that Bistran was supposedly very talkative and would have had other "missions"--Mr Ierunca did not need these details to be convinced of the danger he had escaped. Almost 6 years ago, on 18 November 1977, his wife, Mme Monica Lovinesco, a naturalized French citizen like himself, was assaulted by two strangers who had rung the doorbell of this same house in Buttes-Chaumont. She owed her life only to the help of a passer-by alerted by the scream she let out before falling unconscious. A journalist for the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe, Mme Lovinesco had been one of the principal architects of the campaign that had made it possible to rescue the writer Paul Goma from the prisons of Bucharest. Two days after this attack, Mr Goma arrived in France as a refugee: before even having to release a victim, Securitate had tried to compensate for him.

Since then, Romanian emigration has been living through a bad thriller. On 18 and 19 October 1978, in the hallways of the New York subway, Paul Goma received a death threat, in his own language. The scene was repeated on 16 November, at the Gare de l'Est station in Paris. On 3 and 4 February 1981, Paul Goma and two other emigres received booby-trapped packages at their homes, mailed from Madrid where they had gone to testify before the CSCE [Conference on European Security and Cooperation]. In 1982, two French gangsters working on orders, were sentenced in Bavaria for the attempted assassination of a Romanian collaborator from Radio Free Europe. In May of the same year--the list is not exhaustive--Matei Haiducu, better known as "Monsieur Z," told the DST how his bosses in Securitate gave him the job of liquidating Virgile Tanase and Paul Goma.

#### A Fed-Up Regime

It was the beginning of the "Tanase affair" when the DST, not satisfied with saving two lives, also played a game of its own and thus cast a shadow of fantasy over perfectly simple facts.

In the Ierunca affair, today's, many points are still obscure. For example, nothing could prevent us from imagining that Bistran's move, surprising at first, to the FRG could be anything more than a decoy enabling the DST to throw a smoke screen around a valuable defector. Since General Pacepa, who provided the link between President Ceausescu and Securitate, defected to the West in July 1978, there seems to have been such disorder in the Romanian services that their Western opponents appear to have been enjoying themselves to the hilt.

In any case, Mr Ierunca certainly has everything to displease the Bucharest authorities. The prime backer of two emigre-cultural reviews, ETHOS and LIMITE, in charge of two weekly, literary broadcasts on Free Europe, and a well-known person level-headed enough to enjoy moral authority among the other emigres, he is presented in LUCEAFARUL's feature articles as the "pope of the emigration." That he is not does not prevent him from being a man to destroy for a regime that is fed up with seeing, since 1977, expansion of the people's exasperation and growing opposition.

It is more difficult to believe in these ludicrous escapades than in those of a Bokassa, but it was not the ex-emperor of Central Africa who said on 3 November 1981: "We have to stop consumption that makes the people sick (...). We have serious symptoms of an illness caused by nutritional excesses, particularly among middle-aged citizens. We want to carry out a scientific nutritional program that will, of course, be followed by every citizen." That was said--and with what publicity!--in a country suffering from chronic shortages, by a man allowing himself to be called, among other things, "communism's Carpathos": Mr Ceausescu.

9064

CSO: 3519/470



## DISPUTE OVER CITIZENSHIP IN SERBIA DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1683 3 Apr 83  
pp 18, 19

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic]

[Text] After 5 and a half years SR Serbia receives a law on citizenship: why was it so late in coming and how was the dispute with the provinces decided?

Well, we are entering into the sixth year in which people have been living in Serbia, almost--illegally. This is how it has been since the repeal of the federal law on citizenship. Until the end of 1979 Serbia did not have its own republic law, so that not only did its 9 million inhabitants not have republic citizenship, neither did they have Yugoslav citizenship, since the first is a precondition for the second. But, even later when the law on Serbian citizenship was issued, tensions continued between the republic and provinces over the question: who grants and revokes citizenship, the republic or provincial secretariat of internal affairs [SUP]?

How long will this illegal state of affairs last? The answer is--until yesterday. The day before the appearance of this issue of NIN on the newstands, the republic law had to finally be voted upon in the Serbian Assembly. Why did this dispute last so long? The answer ceases to be so simple when it is known that only one single paragraph was disputed. But, let us proceed in order.

### The Disputed Article 25

After the repeal of the old federal law on citizenship, the republic legislators did not remain inactive. A draft of the new republic law was quickly drawn up and by 6 May 1977 was given to the executive councils of the provincial assemblies. The delegates of the Serbian Assembly had also received it by the end of May that same year. The main business, or so it seemed, was finished at the very beginning of the last delegate term.

At what point, then, did it encounter difficulties?

Article 25 of the law's draft was disputed according to which the republic secretariat for internal affairs had to keep the files on the acquisition of Serbian citizenship and those on the renunciation and revocation of citizenship. The law's authors and the competent functionaries ill-naturedly and tersely answered questions covered by the formulation that "the republic and provincial executive councils cannot agree on some conditions." The problem grew from a routine legislative one, into a public affair, into a first-rank political snafu.

Meanwhile, the Serbian Assembly was receiving letters from citizens with almost always the same question: "When will we finally receive citizenship? How long will we live illegally in our homeland?"

Then, the executive council of the Serbian Assembly finally added a "Solomon-like" amendment to the legal draft on citizenship. In justifying the amendment, it wrote that it is the result of an "agreement reached between representatives of republic and provincial organs for the different working out of questions deciding the acquisition and cessation of Serbian citizenship and the keeping of files on this data." Later, Dusan Ckrebic, then president of the Serbian Assembly, also acknowledged this, having said that "all is prepared for the law on Serbian citizenship to be passed as quickly as possible." By the end of 1979 the law, with this amendment was finally passed.

What kind of solution did it offer?

#### Republic or Provincial

The provincial secretariat for internal affairs will decide on the acquisition and cessation of Serbian citizenship for citizens, that is to say, individuals from the socialist autonomous province, on the basis of individual conditions established by this law and regulations. However, the opinion of the republic secretariat will be sought as to whether the prescribed conditions have been fulfilled. In so much as the provincial secretariat for internal affairs does not accept the opinion of the republic secretariat, it will inform the executive council of the Serbian Assembly which will pass a decision and will inform the executive council of the provincial assembly.

This is the essence of that famous amendment which "softened" and practically erased Article 25 of the draft law which had given total authority concerning Serbian citizenship to the republic secretariat for internal affairs.

So Serbia, perhaps to "keep peace at home" conceded to the provinces one of its constitutional and state functions, the granting and revoking of citizenship.

The question of citizenship in Serbia has again been revived after almost 2 years during which Tito's death and the Kosovo counterrevolution occurred. At the beginning of 1982, republic legislators came out with a new draft of changes and supplements to the law on citizenship; but with essentially the old paragraph according to which the republic and not the provincial SUP

will decide upon the acquisition and cessation of Serbian citizenship. The provincial secretariats for internal affairs were obliged to present their opinion within 30 days. While the SUP of Vojvodina had some lesser comments, the provincial SUP of Kosovo did not present the sought after opinion. The silence from Kosovo could be interpreted in two ways: as a sign of approval, or as one of disagreement.

Some, therefore, concluded that "the practice up to now was not in conformity with the Constitution, but was in harmony with Kosovo's silence."

In May 1982 the draft of this legal document reached the executive council of the Serbian Assembly. But with it came the opinion of the executive council of FAP Kosovo which suggested the draft of the old law, that is, that the provincial SUP pass decisions on citizenship, with the opinion of the republic SUP. This proposal from Kosovo, which was not abandoned until last week, was not adopted at the council's meeting because the solution in the draft of the new law was considered "to allow SR Serbia, as a state, to carry out its constitutional functions directly through its administrative organs and simultaneously to respect in full measure the specific interest and responsibility of the provincial organs for internal affairs in solving these questions. This, moreover, conforms to the conclusions of the 18th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia."

Is there an end to this story? There is.

Last week, almost a full year after the establishment of this legal draft at last year's executive council's May session, delegates of the committee for the socio-political system of the socio-political council of the Serbian Assembly considered the draft of the law on changes and supplements. The delegates of this authoritative committee felt that the total authority for citizenship must belong to the republic SUP because "it is only the republic socio-political association to which the characteristic of a state is given."

Is the Constitution Clear?

While you are reading this, the new law on Serbian citizenship has already been voted upon in the republic assembly. By this, perhaps, was an unimportant question struck from the agenda, but a new one was raised.

Are Articles 300 and 301 of the republic's constitution, which also regulate these relations between the republic and provinces, so unclear or is something else concerned?

We asked Milutin Milosevic about this the day before yesterday. Milosevic is president of the socio-political council of the Serbian Assembly, which is solely authorized to pass laws on citizenship.

This is what he said:

"We wished to prevent the delegates from being divided by voting and therefore prolong this law's passage. But, as far as tomorrow is concerned, by the very day of the session, we will receive the opinion of the assembly of FAP Kosovo, either by telephone, telex or in writing, the delegates will discuss it, although after 6 years all arguments have been exhausted. According to the opinions which have up to now come from Kosovo, the disputed paragraph must have the force of an administrative act and the business about citizenship, for practical reasons, must be performed by the provincial organs of SUP. I do not know whether, except for practical reasons, any others exist; they have not been mentioned. Therefore, I would not guess."

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ALBANIANS IN MONTENEGRO; WRITER ISMAIL KADARE DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 83 pp 66, 67

[Article by Branislav Jokic: "Kadare Disputed (Textbooks without the best-known Albanian writer)"]

[Text] Approximately 40,000 Albanians who live in Montenegro constitute a considerable percentage of its population. Results in the field of general enlightenment and education are most often mentioned as the most significant in their overall development. Today in this republic (in Ulcinj, Tuzi and Plav) 1,230 secondary school students are being educated and about 5,000 attend 11 elementary schools, which are found in almost all larger populated areas inhabited by Albanians.

Talking about education and recalling the events in Kosovo and the repercussion of irredentist actions in Montenegro, one cannot ignore the fact that such repercussions (which had lesser intensity, support, and scope here than in Kosovo) were indeed mostly felt in the schools. Not without reason, as one of the causes cited were the textbooks which were blamed as being the biggest inciting factor, as well as the source of indoctrination of youth. For many years local schools used the same textbooks which were printed in Kosovo and which were used by students of that area.

Following an analysis made after the events in Kosovo in the Republic's institute for textbooks and literary publications, which had a service responsible for monitoring instruction in Albanian, the Republic began printing its own textbooks. Due to the small number of copies printed, they were, understandably, very expensive for the community, yet this was the only way to enforce the principle according to which all students in this republic would acquire the same knowledge, under the same conditions and circumstances. Furthermore, this obligation was one of the conclusions of the LC Central Committee of Montenegro in which it is said, among other things, that the content of textbooks in Albanian, particularly those dealing with social subjects, must be coordinated with the educational plans and programs in Montenegro.

Coordination: This coordination meant, first, inclusion into the textbooks of subject matters dealing with the community and the communal life within the common homeland and native land of Montenegro. Thus 22 texts were printed,

dealing with one's native language, literature and history, for use in elementary schools, as well as three texts for use in secondary schools.

In fact we are talking about the adaptation of Serbo-Croatian texts used by students attending schools in Montenegro. According to Gjela Gjokaj, the institute's editor, this adaptation attempted, in the selection of authors and texts, to reflect also the spirit of togetherness, of brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, as well as their belonging to the Yugoslav socialist society.

In the readers the literature of all our peoples is represented, contemporary as well as the literature of the National Liberation War. As far as Albanian writers are concerned, we conclude, in leafing through one of the readers, that students' reading comprises mainly [Albanian] writers in Yugoslavia, the best-known of whom are: Mekuli, Gjerqeku, Sylejmani, Hoxha, Sinani, Kerveshi, and the younger ones: Dedaj, Shkreli, Podrimja and some others.

Ramo Dukaj, adviser at the institute, points out that a program is being worked out now which would have a common basis for all Albanian schools in our country and which, in its second part, would reflect the characteristics of the environment in which these schools exist and function. One wants to be careful to avoid including in the new textbooks names or works that have been shown to be in some way suitable for "breeding" nationalist and romanticist narrowmindedness, or even directly inciting it. As an example he cites the decision to drop from this program Ismail Kadare, one of the best-known living Albanian writers.

Kadare, as is known, has for a long time not only been included in instruction programs in Albanian and in textbooks for these schools, but is also very widely read among the general public throughout our country. First, in 1966 Bagdala in Krusevac published his novel "General mrtve vojske" (The General of the Dead Army), translated by E. Mekuli, which, thanks to its realistic approach to subject matter from World War II, became, so to speak, known overnight in our country. And even some of our own writers have imitated Kadare.

Pathos: This novel was reprinted some years ago by "Rad" in Belgrade, while "Ridindja" in Pristina has printed the complete works of Kadare. Belgrade's "Prosveta" and Pristina's "Jedinstvo" have translated and published his book "Tvrdava" (The Fortress) which, according to some readers, contained, like Kadare's "Hronika an kamenu" (Chronicle on Stone) printed by Sarajevo's "Veselin Maslesa" in 1979, something against our country strangely concealed and wrapped in "art".

Even if this is not so, the novel surely talks with much pathos and glorification about Albania as an impregnable fortress and about her leader and "defender" as a maker of miracles. This isolated fortress has thrown a shadow of suspicion on the good intentions of the writer Kadare, who, let us mention in passing, is known to readers of other countries as well, especially in the West, and who was, according to some sources (or according to preconceived propaganda), a candidate for the Nobel Prize some years ago.

Kadare is perhaps the only citizen of our neighboring fortress who, according to those knowledgeable of Albanian conditions, always had an open passport to move freely, to the East or to the West. In addition to having specialized in literary sciences in the USSR, he travelled frequently to the United States as well. Thus on such journeys he also paid us a visit: In Pristina he was ceremoniously awarded as the most successfully-published writer and many of our newspapers published interviews with him, also from somewhere his "patriotic" poetry was dug out... And when he returned [to Albania] there across an entire page of ZERI I POPULLIT were all the worst things about us!

Kadare is unquestionably a good writer. But it is fully understandable that a pamphlet against our country does not give him a visa to enter our instructional programs. Such an attitude will be applied, points out Dukaj, to all authors whose works have something else hidden under the artistic "grain." By the way, but for one or two cases, there are no Yugoslav writers of Albanian origin represented in any school program in Albania (not to mention writers of other Yugoslav nationalities).

Pamphlets: For instance, even Marko Miljanov who has written so much about the Albanians, elevating them to the level of a cult, just as he wrote about his own Montenegrins, was belittled in the literary history of our neighboring country as the biggest Montenegrin hegemonist. Recently, a pamphlet appeared in the above-mentioned newspaper also against a well-known contemporary Montenegrin writer accusing him of hegemony. From Albania comes another interesting bit of news about Kadare: in Tirana too, his books have been withdrawn from bookstore windows. Is it possible that after so much attention and privileges, the ax has fallen on him as well? How strange is the fate of writers!

As far as the history textbooks are concerned, they will be, according to the Institute, identical with those for students instructed in Serbo-Croatian; since they shared the same history.

With reference to cultural life of Albanians in Montenegro, the picture would be incomplete if seen only through education and if one speaks only about overcoming the century-long illiteracy prevalent among members of this nationality, or else about recent single creative results. Let us mention in passing that for a long time there has been a special program on Radio Titograd in Albanian, that a TV program is planned, and that there is hardly any area here without a cultural artistic society, etc.

Certainly, one of the more significant results stemming from these efforts is the establishment of the magazine KOHA (in translation: TIME), which is in its fifth year of publication and comes out twice a month in Titograd. It is printed in 2,000 copies of which almost half are sold in Ulcinj, some in Kosovo, and part goes to the United States and Canada where, it is estimated, about 20,000 Albanians live whose native land is Montenegro.

This is not accidental--since KOHA is linked in its content most of all with the Montenegrin homeland and common way of life in it. KOHA has already confirmed a large number of young artists of this nationality and it also

has a permanent column which publishes contributions from contemporary Montenegrin literature. Naturally, from time to time, literature from our other nationalities is represented as well. Apart from Montenegrin authors of Albanian descent, there are very many contributors from Kosovo.

**Togetherness:** Gjergj Gjokaj, editor of this magazine, speaks to us about the publishing activity which started in it two years ago [the magazine and the publishing activity are part of the "Pobjeda" Publishing House]. He says up to now eight titles have been published, mainly by Albanians in Montenegro: Kole Berisha, Ibrahim Berishi, Hajra Ulqinaku, Zuvdijsa Hodzic and others.

And in the future it will publish local writers especially those who have been established through the magazine and are now offering first poetry collections and books of prose. They plan to translate the prose of Marko Miljanov, two manuscripts from contemporary Slovenian literature, as well as texts by authors from Kosovo--Alije Podrimja, for instance.

This magazine has discovered something which was little known before: in Montenegro there are many young Albanians engaged in scholarly work, especially historiography and folklore. Some texts which have been published to date have been received in scholarly circles with interest, and it was shown that very many themes have been awaiting researchers for a long time.

When we mention the new generation of scholars and artists it is not to express suspicion toward authors from Kosovo. Gjergj Gjokaj stresses the need of creating this cadre mostly because of the need for scholarly research and artistic portrayal of the life together of Albanians and Montenegrins here where good neighborliness and friendship have traditionally existed.

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